

ST. EDMUND

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

HIS LIFE AS TOLD BY
OLD ENGLISH WRITERS

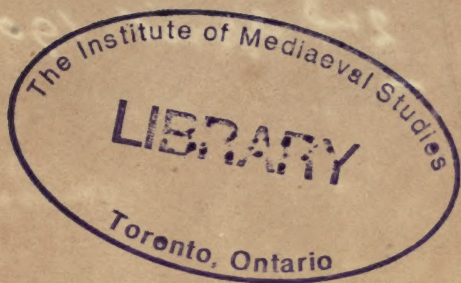


ARRANGED BY
BERNARD WARD

H. J. Mulchrake

2nd April 1903

-





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

ST EDMUND



St Edmund of Canterbury.

(From a fresco in the Church at Frindsbury, near Rochester. See Note, p. 259.)

[Frontispiece.]

ST EDMUND

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

HIS LIFE, AS TOLD BY
OLD ENGLISH WRITERS

ARRANGED BY

BERNARD WARD

PRESIDENT OF ST EDMUND'S COLLEGE, OLD HALL

LONDON

SANDS & CO.

12 BURLEIGH STREET, STRAND

1903

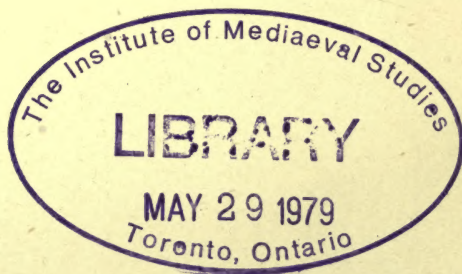
Nihil Obstat:

ROBERTUS BUTLER, D.D.,
Censor Deputatus.

Imprimatur:

HERBERTUS CARD. VAUGHAN,
Archiep. Westmonast.

October 1902.



To

EDMUNDIANS OF ALL GENERATIONS,

ESPECIALLY THOSE WHOM DURING THE LAST FORTY YEARS IT HAS BEEN
MY PRIVILEGE TO KNOW, WHETHER AS MASTERS AND FELLOW
STUDENTS IN YOUTH, OR AS COLLEAGUES AND PUPILS IN
LATER LIFE, WHOSE FIRM BOND OF UNION IS LOVE
AND DEVOTION TO OUR PATRON, AND THE
EVER-PRESENT DESIRE TO BE FILLED
WITH HIS SPIRIT, THE FOLLOWING
PAGES ARE RESPECTFULLY
AND AFFECTIONATELY

Dedicated



PREFACE

WITHIN the last ten years, two well-known works on the Life of St Edmund have appeared. It may reasonably be asked, therefore, for what purpose a third one is now being issued.

The answer will be supplied by a short examination of the contents of this volume, which will, I hope, be found not to clash in any way with the two works alluded to, but rather to supplement them, both as regards the text and illustrations.* Its form is somewhat novel, and was suggested to the author by the series of little books published by David Nutt, entitled *English History from Contemporary Writers*. One of these booklets, that on St Thomas of Canterbury, is not altogether unlike the present work. There is this important difference, however, that whereas the life of St Thomas is treated purely from its political standpoint, that side of St Edmund's career occupies a comparatively subordinate place. His name does indeed occur frequently in the chronicles of the seven years during which he was Archbishop of Canterbury, many of which are quoted in the following pages, and he stands out as having had considerably greater strength and

* It may be well to say that this book was three parts written before I was aware that the Baroness de Paravicini's work was likely to appear.

influence on the course of English history than is generally remembered. But this period formed only a comparatively small part of his life. To mention only one other side of his work, St Edmund's life as student and teacher at Paris and Oxford, and his influence on the future destiny of the latter University, and in preparing the way for the advent of the Friars, would alone give him a place among the most interesting of our saints. The time he spent as preacher of the Crusade, and in missionary labours, has likewise an interest of its own.

The object aimed at in the following pages, then, is to present a picture of the saint's own life as it appeared to his contemporaries in Catholic England, and in their own words, and so to obtain at first hand a glimpse of the religious life of our Catholic ancestors. The sources from which to draw for this purpose are happily abundant, for although in modern times the memory of St Edmund has to a great extent died out amongst us, it was not so in the Middle Ages. He seems to have been one of the most popular of our saints, and his life has been written and re-written many times.* The work of selecting suitable extracts so as to form a continuous story, has of course involved much thought: it is hoped that in the result a fairly complete picture of the saint has been afforded.

Moreover, St Edmund himself was thoroughly English in mind and character. "St Edmund's life is worth studying" (writes Bishop Hedley), "for this reason among others, that it is almost the only example that we have of mediæval Catholic piety displayed in a thoroughly English character." "Doubtless," he adds, "we are not left to this single life to conjecture what the piety of Catholic

* See Appendix A.

England was in the days of faith ; but there is no illustration of it on so wide a field in so concrete a form, and in a subject so attractive." *

It is hardly necessary to add that this attraction, which should appeal to all English Catholics, is something more to those among us who have been brought up under the shadow of his patronage, and have learnt to know the details of his life and spirit from our earliest years. And it is not without singular appropriateness, that one who was known as the "Angel of the Schools" at Oxford, and was in so many ways the model of a Christian student, should be the patron of the first house of ecclesiastical studies set up in this country since the days when England was Catholic.

Numerous illustrations will be found throughout the book. They have been chosen with considerable care to illustrate such relics of the saint's life and times as can be found after the lapse of more than six and a half centuries. Some of them are reproductions of contemporary sketches, drawn for the most part by Matthew Paris, the monastic chronicler, in the quaint style of the day. Others are modern photographs of buildings, or parts of buildings, which date back to St Edmund's time, or are in some way connected with his life. In putting these together, I have to acknowledge gratefully the assistance of several friends. In the first place, the Baroness de Paravicini—whose devotion to St Edmund is well known—has been of the greatest assistance with respect to the Oxford section, of which subject she has made a special study. The references on the map of Oxford, and most of the information of the localities connected with St Edmund, are due to her ; and this seems a fitting place also to acknowledge her great

* *Ampleforth Journal*, April 1899, p. 264.

kindness in presenting her own transcripts of the manuscript *Lives* to St Edmund's College. These transcripts were made with great care at the time she was writing her *Life of St Edmund of Abingdon*. They have now been bound up into volumes, and form an interesting feature of the museum belonging to this college.

My warmest thanks are likewise due to the Oblates of St Edmund, who have many times during the last five and twenty years received me at Pontigny with the greatest cordiality, and especially to Père Massé, the author of the French *Life of St Edmund*, for much assistance in tracing the history of the ancient abbey there. Although St Edmund was at Pontigny only a few weeks during his lifetime, since his death the abbey has been so identified with devotion to his memory, for more than six and a half centuries, that no apology is needed for the considerable amount of space devoted to its description and history. Moreover, as a shrine of an English saint, which has survived all the destruction of the sixteenth century, and exists to-day with a continuous and unbroken tradition, it is unique, and I cannot but think it a reproach to us in England that it is not better known.

Lastly, I am indebted to several kind friends who have helped in various ways, and enabled me to get through in a comparatively short space of time what in the pressure of other duties would not have otherwise been possible.* Thus, in making the translations from the manuscript *Lives*, I received much assistance from Rev. Francis Ross, and Mr Alfred Herbert, M.A. Although several of the extracts quoted have already appeared, either in the *Life* by Dom Wallace, or in that by the Baroness de Paravicini,

* The work was finished three years ago. Its publication was delayed by accidental circumstances.

it was thought better in every case to make an independent translation of them, so as to secure uniformity of style with the greater number, which are published now for the first time. With regard to the Lives themselves, they are written in the curious Latin of those days, containing much mediæval conceit and fanciful playing on words, and abounding in Scriptural allusions. The endeavour has been to keep these characteristics at least in some degree, and hence the original has been rendered as closely as possible, even though some harshness in the English version occasionally results.

My thanks are also due to Mr Cyril Evans, (of St Edmund's House, Cambridge), then in the class of "Rhetoric" at St Edmund's College, who accompanied me in the summer of 1899 to Pontigny and Soissy, in order to take some special photographs, which are here reproduced; and also to Mr James Britten, who rendered great assistance by reading the MS. through, and making some valuable suggestions. Lastly, I have to thank Rev. Edward Myers, M.A., one of the two students sent from here to St Edmund's House, Cambridge, on its establishment in 1896, and who has since joined our staff here, for much labour in the thankless work of reading proofs and verifying references.

ST EDMUND'S COLLEGE,
Feast of St Edmund, 1902.



SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

HOME AT ABINGDON AND SCHOOL DAYS AT OXFORD

PAGE
I

Parents and Home of St Edmund—Another Account—Birth of St Edmund—His Childhood—Mabel's Solicitude for her Children—At School at Oxford—His Life is saved by a remarkable Providence—The Boy Jesus appears to him—He suffers from Head-aches: His Remedy—He dedicates himself before the Statue of the Blessed Virgin.

CHAPTER II

STUDENT AT PARIS

16

Mabel sends her two Sons to Paris—His Manner of Life as a Student—How he met one who tempted him—St John the Evangelist appears to him—Death of Mabel—He places his Sisters in the Monastery at Catesby, and returns to Paris—His Progress in his Studies after the Death of Mabel—He becomes Lecturer in Arts.

CHAPTER III

TEACHER AT OXFORD

29

He returns to Oxford—Regent in Arts at Oxford—Miraculous Sign of a lost Soul—Mabel appears to him—Student and Teacher of Theology—His devout Exercises—His Charity to poor Scholars and others—He loses his Bible on his Journey to England—He stays at Merton Abbey—He receives Holy Orders—His Success in Lecturing—St Edmund at his Studies—Conflict with the Devil—He sees a Vision—His good Repute—His Charity to his Sick Pupils—How he Spent his Vacations—He is offered Benefices: The Conditions on which he accepts them—He Resigns his Professorial Chair.

CHAPTER IV

TREASURER OF SALISBURY AND RECTOR OF CALNE .

PAGE

49

He is elected Treasurer of Salisbury—The Duties of Treasurer: St Osmund's Register—His Manner of Life at Salisbury—Another Account—His Charity to the Poor—He exceeds his Income—His Preaching: The Clouds obey Him—His Appearance when Preaching—He is Commissioned by the Pope to preach the Crusade—His Bible is saved from burning—His Friendship with Ella, Countess of Salisbury: He converts her Husband—She is herself miraculously cured of a Sickness—Incident at Calne: Apparition of the Dead—Consecration of Part of the new Cathedral—Vacancy of the See of Canterbury—Election of St Edmund as Archbishop of Canterbury—Messengers sent to Salisbury—They proceed to Calne—They go to the Bishop of Salisbury—He consents to accept the Archbishopric.

CHAPTER V

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

74

The Archbishop-elect begins by representing to the King the Grievances of his Subjects—Consecration of St Edmund—The Bishops warn the King a second Time: He promises Amendment—The Archbishop is sent to Wales to make Peace with Llewellyn—The King hears of the Death of the Earl Marshal—St Edmund as Peacemaker—He intercedes for the Brother of the Earl Marshal—Peter des Roches and his Accomplices fall into Disgrace—Mediation of St Edmund—St Edmund's private Life as Archbishop: His Austerities—His great Charity—His Humility—His Hatred of Idleness—His Love of Peace—His Charity to poor Widows—He refuses all Gifts—He appoints St Richard as his Chancellor—Marriage of the King to Eleanor of Provence—The Festivities in London—The Statutes of Merton—The King demands Money and renews the Liberties of Magna Charta—Solemn Ratification of the King's Promise in Westminster Abbey—Arrival of the Papal Legate—Prudent Behaviour of the Legate—The Legate summons a Council—The Council of London.

CHAPTER VI

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (*continued*) PAGE 117

The Dispute with the Canterbury Monks—The Legate attempts Mediation—The Archbishop offers a Compromise—He leaves England against the Wishes of the Legate—He arrives in Rome—The Monks make Accusations against him—Archdeacon Simon Langton accuses the Monks—Further Opposition to St Edmund—Incidents in Rome—St Edmund returns to England: Visitation of Christchurch Monastery by the Legate—The Monks appear before the Legate—Election of a Prior—St Edmund Excommunicates the Electors—The Archbishop takes Counsel of the Legate and Suffragans—The Rogation Processions—The Citizens of Canterbury complain of the Scandal—The King and the Legate oppose the Archbishop—He is calumniated and oppressed—His Patience towards his Enemies—He takes further Counsel of his Suffragans—The Legate demands Subsidies for the Pope—The Legate over-rides the Archbishop's Decisions—The Archbishop appeals to the Pope—His Visions—He is comforted—He determines to leave England—During his Last Days in England, he works Miracles—His Prophecies—He determines to go to Pontigny—Departure from England.

CHAPTER VII

EXILE AT PONTIGNY—DEATH AT SOISSY 150

He lands in France: The Queen of the French comes to meet him—Arrival at Pontigny: Fulfilment of St Thomas's Prophecy—His Manner of Life at Pontigny—His Austerities—He is weary of Life—His Sermon to the Monks: He is received as one of the Community—"Speculum Ecclesiæ"—His Illness increases: He retires to Soissy—His Charity during his last Illness—He receives Holy Viaticum—Anxiety of his Attendants: He writes a Letter on their Behalf—The Last Day of his Life—His Hair-shirt is miraculously Preserved—His Final Bequests—His Death.

CHAPTER VIII

	PAGE
FUNERAL OF ST EDMUND—MIRACLES WORKED AT HIS TOMB—HIS CANONISATION	167

The Archbishop's Seal is broken—The Body is taken back to Pontigny—The Story of his Ring—The Funeral—Vision of the Monk Herman—The Archbishop of Sens visits Pontigny: The Tomb of St Edmund is opened—The Body is removed to a new Tomb—St Richard—Election of St Edmund's Successor at Canterbury—Miracles at Pontigny and elsewhere—Petition for his Canonisation—The First Inquiry—The Second Inquiry—Opposition to the Canonisation—The Promoters of the Cause are discouraged—Cardinal John encourages Bertrand to further Endeavours—Final Inquiry—Canonisation of St Edmund—King Henry rejoices at the News of the Canonisation.

CHAPTER IX

CULTUS OF ST EDMUND—FIRST AND SECOND TRANSLATION OF THE RELICS	195
--	-----

Opening of the Tomb: Letter of St Richard—Solemn Translation of the Relics—Dispute about the Shrine—Second Translation of the Relics—Separation of the Right Arm from the Body—The Gift of Earl Richard—Cultus of St Edmund—Indulgences granted to Pilgrims to Pontigny: Letter of Archbishop Boniface—Leave granted to English Women to enter the Church at Pontigny—King Henry III. visits Pontigny: His Gifts to St Edmund's Shrine—Endowment of Pontigny by the King of England—Death of St Richard—Death of Former Pupils of St Edmund—Death of St Edmund's Sisters.

EPILOGUE

LATER HISTORY OF THE ABBEY AND SHRINE AT PONTIGNY	217
---	-----

APPENDICES

	PAGE
A.—MANUSCRIPT AND OTHER AUTHORITIES FOR THE LIFE OF ST EDMUND	235
B.—THE FAMILY OF ST EDMUND	246
(1) St Edmund's Father—(2) St Edmund's Brothers and Sisters—(3) The Tomb of St Edmund's Mother.	
C.—CHRONOLOGY OF ST EDMUND'S LIFE	251
D.—THE CHAPEL OF ST THOMAS AT PONTIGNY	253
E.—THE PRESENT STATE OF THE RELICS OF ST EDMUND	255
F.—THE ARMS OF ST EDMUND	257
G.—EXPULSION OF THE FATHERS OF ST EDMUND FROM PONTIGNY	260
NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS	261
INDEX	285

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

(For Notes on the Illustrations, see pp. 261-284)

St Edmund of Canterbury (from a fresco in the Church at Frindsbury, near Rochester)	Frontispiece
---	--------------

ABINGDON

	PAGE
General View of Abingdon	I
Abingdon Cross and Church of St Nicholas (Seventeenth Century)	3
Church of St Nicholas and Abbey Gateway (Modern)	4
Ruins of the Abbey—Exterior of Prior's Rooms	6
Ruins of the Abbey—Dormitory	7
St Edmund's Lane	9
The Lonesome Tree	13

PARIS

Cathedral of Notre Dame	16
Church of St Merri	18

OXFORD

Map of Oxford	29
Carving on the Exterior of the Ancient Chapel of the Blessed Virgin	30
Great St Mary's	33
Christchurch Cathedral	37
Remains of the Shrine of St Frideswide	38
Iffley Church	40
Ancient Hospital of St John (from a drawing by Matthew Paris)	43
Tower of St Michael's Church	45

SALISBURY

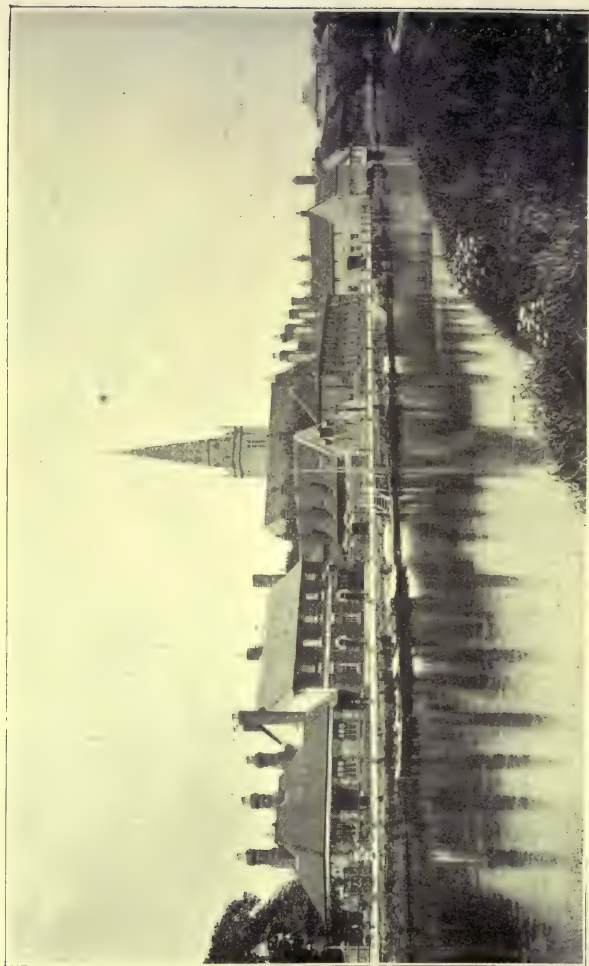
Salisbury Cathedral (Exterior)	49
Salisbury Cathedral (Interior—Lady Chapel)	51
Tomb of William Longsword	60
Calne Church (Exterior)	70
Calne Church (Interior)	71

CANTERBURY

	PAGE
Consecration of St Edmund (from a drawing by Matthew Paris)	77
St Edmund as Peacemaker (from a drawing by Matthew Paris)	83
Remains of City Walls	92
Westgate	94
Mercery Lane	95
Canterbury Cathedral (Exterior)	97
Canterbury Cathedral (The Choir)	99
The Patriarchal Chair	101
Marriage of King Henry to Eleanor of Provence (from a drawing by Matthew Paris)	103
Council of London (from a drawing by Matthew Paris)	112
Plan of Christchurch Cathedral and Monastery, Canterbury (from Eadwine's Psalter)	117
Ruins of Christchurch Monastery	118
Treasury of the Church	118
Norman Staircase	119
St Augustine's Abbey—Gateway	121
St Martin's Church	133
Shrine of St Thomas (from an old MS.)	143

PONTIGNY

Bird's-eye View of the Ancient Abbey	150
Abbey Church, Pontigny (Exterior)	152
Abbey Church, Pontigny (Interior)	154
Abbey Church, Pontigny (North Aisle)	154
Monks' Washing-place	156
Soissy	159
Abbey Church, Pontigny—Front, showing Porch	167
Stone of St Edmund's Ring	171
Chapel in which St Edmund was buried	175
Abbey Church, Pontigny—Back View	195
St Edmund's Mitre	205
Shrine of St Edmund (Modern)	217
Tomb of Hugh de Macon	221
Abbey Church, Pontigny—Monks' Choir	224
Abbey Church, Pontigny, Exterior, North Side, showing Remains of Cloister	229
House of the Fathers of St Edmund, Pontigny	233
Facsimile Page of Addit. MS., British Museum	241



Abingdon.

ST EDMUND OF CANTERBURY

CHAPTER I

HOME AT ABINGDON AND SCHOOL DAYS AT OXFORD

Parents and Home of St Edmund.

*St John's College MS. (Wallace, p. 590).**

94
THIS child is the glory of Abingdon, an admirable place upon the river Thames, that is well stocked with fish, dedicated to the service of holy Mary, famed for the hospitality of its monks, maintained at the royal cost, nigh to the university of scholars, with dewy meadows, leafy woods, well-watered gardens, fertile fields, green herbage, and fair flowers, and of mild climate. Here was the boy begotten, of parents holy and devout, Reginald namely, and Mabel, and from the example of both of them he gained the first beginnings of illustrious sanctity. For his father, being good and wise, pondering over the uncertain end of man, and the deceitful pleasures of the world, in the desire of a happy issue beyond all change, and setting the hope of salvation before the enjoyment of sense, after with prudent discretion both seeking and obtaining his wife's consent, and after the vows of a solemn profession, passed from the fruitfulness

* For explanation of the references, see p. 245.

of marriage to the purity of continence. Then after assuming the religious habit, and renouncing his wonted pleasant manner of life, so suddenly was he taken away from human things that Edmund, still a child, and dependent hereafter with his only brother Robert, and his two sisters, upon their mother's loving care, could scarcely remember to have seen him.* O truly blessed children, for whom Divine mercy provided the guardianship of a nurse thus pious, prudent, and devout, not only to rear them for this transitory life, but also to lead them to the mansions of the everlasting King on high: whose devotion kept her mind always in heaven, God ever before her eyes, and all the saints in reverence. It kept her tongue in prayer, chastity in her desire, the flesh beneath her feet, the world behind her back; and she held pleasure in disdain. Moreover, lest she should give occasion for scandal, by going abroad in a dress either too wanton or too mean, before men who judge by outward appearance, she wore a robe under her cloak, and under her robe a tunic, neither poor nor costly, but suitable for the decent apparel of her middle station of life. And that she might please God who judges in secret, she wore as it were a heavy and chill breast-plate beneath her tunic, and again beneath this a rough and painful hair-shirt. O woman, rightly called stronger than he who storms camps and cities, who, seeking with her whole strength after the Kingdom of Heaven, was so impatient of all earthly things which stood in the way of her journey thither, that persecuting her lower nature, so hurtful and dangerous to herself, by a mutual warfare in which she was both conqueror and conquered, she herself strove to entirely subdue herself; and in order

* See note on St Edmund's family, in Appendix B.



Abingdon Cross and Church of St Nicholas. (Seventeenth Century).

that she might be elevated above herself, in her spiritual conflict against spiritual enemies, she used material arms ; which, though seemingly beside the mark, was in truth not so.

Another Account.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1775).

His parents were in wealth and repute in the world of modest estate, but abounded not moderately in riches of virtue and works of piety. His father was called Reginald, with the surname Rich, who, with the consent of his wife, taking leave of this world, finished the course of his life wearing the monastic habit in the monastery of Eynsham.* His mother, not inferior to her husband in virtue, added to a woman's thought the courage of a man, and living in the world, but not according to the world, cut wholly away from herself all the enticements of the flesh along with softness of spirit. For she had learnt by unction from above, that a widow given to pleasures is dead even while she lives ; whence she abstained from many things lawful, that she might ever be a total stranger to what is unlawful, and she girt her loins with strength, even with the strong girdle of continence, and gathering her cloak about her, she disdained all those garments which she deemed unbecoming to her holy purpose. And as she longed to acquire purity of heart, which is usually gained chiefly by sobriety and fasting, she used to watchfully share the vigils almost

* A Benedictine Abbey in Oxfordshire. Here it was that in 1186 St Hugh was elected Bishop of Lincoln. He had afterwards a considerable connection with the Abbey, and often stayed there, so that he must have seen St Edmund's father. Several manuscripts give the name *Evesham* ; but this is probably an error of copying, for Evesham Abbey was much larger and better known,

every night of the monks of Abingdon. And that she might the more steadfastly keep her purpose, in the chastity of the body, she began ceaselessly, with the stern law of discipline, to subdue the rebellious movements of the flesh. And so for this conflict, she clad herself in armour that befits the continent in their warfare, namely, in a rough hair-shirt, wherewith she was wont to clothe her bare body even to the feet. Then over this she set a corselet of iron, which ever after she wore upon her, so that beneath the pressure of the iron the covering of hair might the more vex the flesh. And set in the corselet were two plates of iron for her greater torment, and of these at her death the mother made her two sons heirs, namely, Edmund, of whom we are speaking, and Robert. O woman, stronger than he who storms cities, who that she might punish her own faults waged war against herself, and having engaged in the strife of a greater than civil warfare, drew up both for herself and against herself the battle array of the most austere penance. She used material arms in this spiritual combat, by which she was at the same time conqueror and conquered, keeping herself always under arms, in order that she might find the Lord unarmed. In the education of her children she had the prudence of Sara, in presence of men she had the modesty of Rebecca, before God she had the sweetness of Rachel; but in the presence of her neighbour she was attributed happiness in her offspring, even as Lia.

Birth of St Edmund.

Ibid.

From a father thus devout and a mother thus happy did the blessed Edmund draw his origin in the afore-



Church of St Nicholas and Abbey Gateway, Abingdon. (Modern).



named town of Abingdon, a spot fair enough in its situation. His birth brought joy to his parents, shed lustre upon his country, and increased both the glory and the honour of all greater Britain. By the very brightness of his body, God showed that the flower of virginity should ever endure unstained in him whom beyond the common lot of infants, by happy auguries, he set apart even from his mother's womb. So clean from all stain of human corruption did he come forth from the chamber of his nativity, that had he been wrapped forthwith in the fairest linen, it would have received no stain from what it covered. O truly happy one! O child thrice and four times blessed, to whom it was granted with prosperity to receive the light, and with tranquillity to shed it abroad. For from the morning of the day of St Edmund the Martyr,* whereon he was brought to birth, up to eventide, he lay as though dead, so that the handmaids would have committed him to burial had not his mother with more prudent thought withstood their purpose. At length, by his mother's command, or more truly by the providence of God, by whom is ordered the life of mortal men, he was baptised, and by a play upon the name, he was called Edmund (the clean), from his cleanness. For by such name would his mother have him called, because it was when praying at the shrine of the aforesaid martyr,† laden with her holy burden, that she first marked the signs of life. But clearly, rather by heaven's will than by his mother's was he so called. For if the meaning

* November 20.

† *i.e.*, at Bury St Edmunds, whither she no doubt went in pilgrimage. The coincidence that our saint was afterwards born on the feast of St Edmund the King was remarkable.

of the name be considered, which is made of two whole words, the one English, the other Latin, he is called *happy* and *pure*. And God willed to allot his name not from any chance cleanness, but from a purity that



Ruins of Alington Abbe,—Exterior of Prior's Rooms.

was blessed ; setting him apart from the foolish virgins who, pure though they were, are shown by their final reprobation to have been unblessed.

His Childhood.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1777).

Even from the earliest days of his childhood, with such religious care did his mother rear him, that by her training he learned in the days of his youth to observe fasting and prayer. She promised and offered little presents, so that

of his own accord he should upon Fridays fast upon bread and water, that thus by holy craft she might implant in his soul the observance of life-giving austerity. And that she might be able in his childish heart to prepare a dwelling place for the Holy Spirit, in the intimate recesses of that soul which had issued but lately fresh and clean from



Ruins of Abingdon Abbey—Dormitory.

the hands of the Creator, she set honour upon self-restraint, and as it were upon empty tablets, she was careful to mould that habit of personal holiness which he had gained from repeated good actions into shapes of character. Thus upon the foundation of innocence did she raise the lofty palace of virtue, that the building early begun by the Spirit might grow to be a holy temple in the Lord.

Mabel's Solicitude for her Children.

St John's College MS. (Wallace, p. 591).

But inasmuch as the loving-kindness of the charity that seeks a wide range for its exercise is ever regardful of our neighbour's desire for salvation, no less than its own, so it was not enough for her [Mabel] to crush the serpent's head beneath her own feet. Those children whom we have named above, whom she had brought forth for this world, she longed to bring forth also for heaven, and she taught them the art and manner of repelling the wiles of that same serpent. For as she grieved to mark by what errors the world is led, she dreaded with anxious heart lest, after they reached years of discretion, freewill should fail before the storm of temptation; and lest in the pursuit of pleasure they should fall headlong down the slippery steep of vice, and lose their salvation. Thereupon, being careful, according to the word of Ecclesiasticus, "Bow down his neck while he is young,"* in order to escape the danger of everlasting death, she set openly before them the example of her own sanctity, and with the subtle wish of training them to the same course, of their own accord, sometimes by little gifts she sought and secured their goodwill, beguiling with pious craft their simple souls, so that she might guard them from evil wiles. For marking that children are by nature willing to believe, strong in desire, and eager to excel, she would promise to their credulous minds whatever they eagerly wished for, as to fly, or to swim, or to crush all that vexed them, if only they would do this thing or that, and so she led them to whatever she would. . . . And thus craftily and

* Ecclus. xxx. 12.

indirectly assailing their wills to bend them by their own consent, by sensible things she taught them spiritual doctrines, and how this blessedness exceeds all other. And observing how to earn these changes, they could do without dainty or frequent repasts, by promises of this kind she led them to

be content with a simple refecton of bread and water once upon Saturdays, to tame the flesh by fasting, and to anticipate the years of discretion by the works thereof. O blessed indeed are they who follow Christ from infancy, observe abstinence, and rejoice to bear the suffering of the body through the patience of the spirit!

For when the malignant tempter comes

hereafter, and that opportunity for temptation that resides particularly in the frequent delight of taste, has been removed, he finds nothing whereby to present temptation. Meanwhile their mother was thrilled with a joy unspeakable when she beheld that the tiny seed of virtue which she had implanted in them had taken such firm root. And after she had thus aimed at things sublime, lest she might by the torpor of sloth be turned from completing her task, she constantly visited the fresh



St Edmund's Lane, Abingdon.

young plants of holiness, watering them with the refreshing dew of holy consolation. Then mercifully deigning to be present with a ray of His divine clemency, the Holy Spirit, without Whom neither he that planteth nor he that watereth is anything, granted His increase. Further, since the lack of knowledge oftentimes hurries the mind of man into error, in order that knowledge might correspond to the devout will of those who longed to offer themselves wholly to the Lord, she determined to train in the study of letters those whom she had inflamed with the desire of heavenly life.

At School at Oxford.

Lanercost Chron. (p. 38).

While he was still youthful in age, and directing his mind to the study of logic, an incident happened to him worthy to be told. For one day, as is common during the period of youth, while assisting at Mass, he paid more heed to the voices of the singers than to his prayers, and thought more of the music than of the hidden meaning of the sacred rites, and for this reason, as soon as the elevation of the Mass was over, with many others he hastened out to play. And as soon as he passed out by the northern door of the church of the Mother of God, a hand was sent by the Divine Spirit, which struck him on the cheek, and added a word of heavenly admonition, saying, "Return to the office which is in progress, for now is in truth the very beginning of Mass." Which the youth, who was clever, seeing to be true, he began to be inflamed with a more devout love towards the life-giving sacrament, and ever afterwards never failed when assisting at the Holy Sacrifice, to remain till the finish.

His Life is saved by a remarkable Providence.*Ibid.*

And thus it happened on a certain day, that after he had heard Mass, he repaired to the schools situate in the churchyard of the afore-named church, at the western door, in order to hear his lesson. And as he sat on a bench, along with a large number of his companions, he presently arose and went out; and forthwith, as soon as he had left his bench, a stone falling from the building came down on the spot where he had been sitting. And all those present saw that had he remained he would have been killed, and that he had been preserved by the protection of God. And this, I believe, is to be attributed to the grace of the sacrament of the altar.

The Boy Jesus appears to him.*Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1778).*

He was an earnest lover of the Lord, for that he strove with his whole soul to love the Author of Life, and to him while still a boy the same Author of Life deigned to show Himself in the form of a boy. For one day when, at the invitation of companions of his own age, he entered a certain meadow for the purpose of recreation, he nevertheless quickly separated himself from their company, lest the purity of his soul should undergo any stain by boyish trifles or by vain words. As he proceeded alone, occupying himself with holy meditation, "He that feedeth among the lilies* and is compassed with flowering roses" appeared to him, white with snowy whiteness, and ruddy with the freshness of the rose, who, as though falling from the heights of heaven, pouring forth words of nectar from His honeyed mouth, thus

* Cant. ii. 16.

addressed him with the gracious salutation, "Hail, my well beloved!" Who, when he heard, was troubled like a boy at the words of a boy, and began to wonder at the nature of the salutation, as well as at the untold beauty of Him who addressed him. Whom when that Boy of surpassing beauty saw astonished and bewildered, speaking again, He asked whether He was in any way known to him. But he, with the simplicity of a dove, giving a simple answer, said, "I have no knowledge of thee, nor am I, in my belief, known to thee." And then the aforesaid Boy proceeded to speak to him a third time in these words: "I wonder (He said) that I am so unknown to thee, especially as I sit at thy side within the schools, and am thy inseparable companion whithersoever thou goest." And He added: "Look in my face, and what is written on my forehead do thou note diligently with all thy heart." Which when he had done, he read there in heavenly letters the name of our Redeemer, namely, Jesus of Nazareth. He repeated what he saw, and straightway he heard this from Him: "I am Jesus of Nazareth, and this is my name, which shall be for a memorial to thee in the desire of thy heart. Trace this carefully and distinctly on thy forehead every night; by this shalt thou be able to be fortified against sudden death, and whosoever shall impress the same letters on his forehead in like manner also." And when He had said this, then the Boy, on whom the angels desire to look, disappeared; but in the breast of that boy whom He had deigned to visit, He left no small sweetness. And as he progressed in wisdom and age and grace before God and man, he committed to memory the words of the Lord, sweeter to him than honey and the honeycomb, and that blessed

Name in which he who is to be blessed on the earth shall be blessed in the Lord, he carefully traced on his forehead every night. For he knows this who saw and hath written these things, and beareth witness about them; nor is his testimony to be even lightly questioned by any one; for when on a certain night, according to the custom of a chamberlain, he was standing with him in his room, when he saw him carefully trace that glorious name upon his forehead, as he had often before seen him, being a man of deep humility, turning he suddenly spoke thus: "See that every night before thou sleepest thou dost not omit to trace on thy forehead with thy finger this name, Jesus of Nazareth." Which when he heard, he willingly followed so salutary a counsel, and his heart rejoiced, being confirmed by a triple testimony about this matter. For what he had learnt from trustworthy men, and had seen by the evidence of his eyes, he now knew even more certainly from the words of the saint himself.



The Lonesome Tree, Abingdon.

He suffers from Headaches. His Remedy.

Ibid.

Before taking food upon Sundays and holidays he was wont to recite the whole psalter, in this matter also

willingly yielding to the bidding of his mother. But when as a youth he was devoting himself to liberal study, he was attacked by such severe and prolonged headache that he despaired of being able even to make further progress in what he had begun. His mother in pity sorrowed with his sorrow. Then, like a woman of insight, thinking out the reason of his suffering, she thus addressed him:—"My son, thy clerk's tonsure is not well defined, and this, it seems, is the reason of all the pain thou sufferest. Take care, therefore, that thou be duly shorn, and lay aside thy superfluous hair, and then I trust that the Lord, being less severe towards thee, will render the pain less severe." Then, welcoming her words, he put away all the hair that seemed too abundant, and the headache, as though it were wholly cut away by the shears, presently disappeared, and that so entirely that it left no trace, and never afterwards returned, even as he declared in secret to one who was his familiar friend.

**He dedicates himself before the Statue of the
Blessed Virgin.**

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 544).

Blessed Edmund, while still a boy of only twelve years, frequenting the schools under the guidance of a tutor, was under the care of a certain holy priest to whom he frequently confessed. When, therefore, in the presence of his confessor, he had promised to give his unsullied virginity by vow to Mary, Mother of God, and had spoken this promise before the image of the Blessed Virgin in the church, rising quickly, he placed and fitted a certain ring which he had obtained for the

purpose, on the finger of the statue, with these words :—
“To thee, O Virgin of virgins, most pure Mother of my Lord Jesus Christ, I vow, offer, and devote the promise of my virginity. And with this ring in pledge, I choose thee and gratefully adopt thee as my Lady and Spouse, that in the future I may as a virgin merit to serve thee, a Virgin, more gratefully and more devoutly.” And kneeling before the image, as though before the Mother of God herself, he prayed with great devotion, pouring forth abundant tears, so that his eyes brought forth floods of water, saying : “O my Lady, now most sweet Spouse of my heart, do thou pray to thy Son, my Lord, most efficaciously, so that by perseverance in thy service I may merit to follow the footsteps of Blessed John the Evangelist.” And when after his prayer, in order to avoid causing astonishment to the people, he wished to remove the ring which he had placed on the finger of the statue, though he tried by all the means in his power, he was not able to do so. Wherefore, with joy he conceived the hope that the Blessed Virgin had favourably accepted his vow, so that as the most pure boy promised himself in all chastity to the Mother of God, and ever Virgin, so the Blessed Virgin herself freely promised to be united to Blessed Edmund.*

* The Lanercost Chronicler adds that he had himself, “together with the whole University,” often seen the ring still on the statue ; and that many others had also seen it.

CHAPTER II

STUDENT AT PARIS

Mabel sends her two Sons to Paris.

St John's College MS. (Wallace, p. 593).

WHEN the labours of learning the sciences by Divine grace continued without ceasing, so that already they [Edmund and his brother Robert] seemed even to excel their masters in the art of grammar, when they were now about to be sent to Paris, where the sciences were said to flourish even more, their mother set aside so little money for them that it seemed as though it could not suffice for their decent sustenance. Seeing, therefore, how they looked at each other with silent tongue, anxious heart, and dejected countenance, showing signs of sadness that a journey to a foreign land was in store for them, while means were not given them for their support, she began to comfort them with these words of motherly assurance :—

“What has been the use of all my anxious care for you, my sons? your faint-heartedness grieves me, for you do not put the trust you ought in God. Your souls are as of those who fear where there is no fear. Look at me, a poor woman, as you know. Power is not granted me to give you splendour of living, but rather cast your thoughts on the Lord, and He will support you. Keep Him always before your eyes, and He will guide your



Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris.

steps. In true manly fashion, you should seek after the benefits of God, lest the attractions of softness and the touch of tenderness render you effeminate, exciting the lust of the flesh which warreth against the spirit. For which end I have made ready for you two hair-shirts with which, if you please, you can overcome your sense of touch, even as by fasting you have already overcome your taste. I especially enjoin on each of you to wear it next your flesh twice a week, and promise with confidence that if you do this, God will never let you want for food."

As soon, therefore, as their mother's sincere love had exhorted them with these precepts, when they had set out for Paris, she sent them two pairs of under garments and two hair-shirts, begging them, for the sake of the love they bore their mother, to wear them. This injunction they faithfully carried out, and according to her promise, the Lord provided for them abundantly in all things, opening their understanding so that they might grasp the subtleties of the lectures on logic.

His Manner of Life as a Student.

Testimony of Eustace, C.C.C. MS., p. 381.

When he was now advancing to the years of manhood, and already devoted to the study of the liberal arts, he pressed forward upon the road along which he had previously been led; and of his own accord, to match the meaning of his name, he became happy and pure. For from this time forward, he began beyond his wont to give up things for God; the portals of the church he frequented more and more eagerly; the vain frivolities with which that time of life is commonly entangled he

shunned altogether; and to learning he devoted earnest care. Not only did he flee altogether from the delights of the flesh, but he ever bore on his own body the mortification of the cross, and with all the earnestness of his mind he sought for the Author of Life. It seemed as though he already understood the proverb which he had not yet met with in his studies, "Train up a child in the



Church of St Merri, Paris.

way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it."* This in him was truly fulfilled. For watching, fasting, and other difficult penitential exercises he so made his custom, that afterwards, in his more advanced age, they became, as he himself bore witness, not only easy, but even sweet. And being thus a follower of Blessed John

* Prov. xxii. 6.

the Evangelist, he never soiled his purity by any stain, as they positively assert who have heard his confessions, and who have known him by familiar intercourse from the years of boyhood. And thus he is believed to have lived in the flesh as one out of the flesh.

How he met one who tempted him.

Cambridge MS., fol. 39b, col. 2.

A certain maiden, the daughter of his host,* cast her eyes upon him, making known her evil intent by signals, nodding, and sighs. But when she prevailed nothing in this manner, she addressed herself to him openly in words, and in many ways essayed to tempt him to unlawful embraces. He, however, avoiding her as a pestilence, often rebuked her, but was not able even so to rescue himself from her importunity. Whence, being wearied by her aggressiveness, he thought of a way to save both himself and her, and appointed a time for her to come to the place where he was wont to give himself to study. Hoping, therefore, to fulfil the object of her longing, at the time appointed she boldly entered his room, and having shut the door, at the bidding of St Edmund she put off her upper garments. As soon as she was bare, therefore, in the upper part of the body, he whipped her in the back with a flexible scourge which he had prepared for the purpose, and when she was sprinkled with blood on the surface of the skin, he left her and said, "Go, woman, and learn to avoid over-

* The Pontigny MS. says the daughter of his *hostess*. The expression used seems to indicate that St Edmund was still comparatively young, and living under the care of some one older. It is for this reason that it is usually believed to have taken place at Paris, and soon after he went there.

mastering lust by the scourge of discipline." She fled, therefore, who had so long persecuted him, and this ill-treatment gave her understanding and brought her grace, so that the maiden herself afterwards asserted that she had never again experienced temptation of this kind. Behold how the man of God resisted the devil, who being vanquished by him and by the maiden who was disciplined, fled to a distance.

St John the Evangelist appears to him.

St John's College MS. (Wallace, p. 599).

But knowing that for the successful and constant observance of a vow so difficult, no effort of human frailty would avail, save only through a special grace, he called evermore upon her in whom the grace of virginity dwells pre-eminently, the Virgin of virgins, and the steward of her household, the evangelist St John, and used daily to offer a prayer to them in common.* And

* The prayer to our Lady and St John, known from its first words as *O Intemerata*, was written by St Edmund himself, and afterwards became known throughout Europe. It appears in very many medieval manuals of devotion, usually following the *sequentia* of the Gospels. The following is a translation of it:—

"O Holy and spotless Virgin Mary, Mother of God, blessed for evermore, sole and beyond compare, thou the most pleasing temple of God, sanctuary of the Holy Ghost and gate of the kingdom of heaven, through whom, under God, the whole earth doth live, bow down thy pitiful ear to my unworthy prayer, and be to me, a sinner, my compassionate help in all things.

"O most blessed St John, familiar friend of Christ, chosen because of thy virgin purity by our Lord himself, more deeply loved than all thy brethren, made learned with heavenly doctrine, and chosen to be His glorious Apostle and Evangelist, upon thee also along with Mary the mother of the same, our Saviour, do I call, that along with her thou mayest deign to bestow upon me thine aid. Twin gems of heavenly brightness, Mary and John, lights that shine with

since the devil strove always to hinder this healthful purpose, it befell him once, but too late, to repent that since he had been busy upon preparing his work and similar cares, he had gone through the entire day wholly forgetful of his prayer. And though it might seem a fault but slight and pardonable, for the omission was due to mere human defect of memory, yet he did not go altogether without punishment, though it was in his sleep. For on the following night he beheld St John, as one angered and terrible, with uplifted arm holding a ferrule, and threatening a very grievous stroke upon the hand, which at the saint's bidding he held forth, trembling with fear. But the saint, then with milder demeanour, and not executing the sentence of his wrath, turned his dread threat to loving exhortation, laying the command and

His glory in the presence of God, scatter with your bright beams the mist of my sins. For ye are they in whom, by His only begotten Son, the Father hath most chiefly established His home, and to whom, in reward of your purity unstained, the same only begotten of the Father made steadfast the pledge [privilege] of His love, saying, as He hung upon the cross to the one, 'Mother, behold thy son!' and then to the other, 'Behold thy mother!' Wherefore, in the sweetness of that holy love, whereby ye were then by the word of the Lord joined each to other as mother and son, I a sinner, this day entrust to both my body, my soul, and my life, so that ye may at every hour and every moment vouchsafe to be my sure defence both within and without, and my loving intercessors with God. For I unwaveringly believe and undoubtingly confess that your will accordeth, yea and nay, with the will of God, and thus whatsoever ye ask is straightway granted. Wherefore, by your powerful might of dignity entreat for me salvation of body and of soul. Grant, yea grant by your glorious prayers, that my heart may be the sojourn and dwelling-place of that gracious Spirit who may cleanse me from all defilement of vice, adorn me with all virtue, and make me to persevere safely to the end in the love of God and my neighbour; and when this life is done, may that most merciful Comforter lead me to the joys of his elect, even the bounteous bestower of all grace, who, with the Father and the Son, consubstantial, co-eternal, in them and with them, liveth and reigneth God Almighty in His Saints. Amen."

injunction upon him that ever hereafter he should postpone all care and business of whatever kind, and carefully recite that prayer every day.

Death of Mabel.

St John's College MS. (Wallace, p. 594).

Now by chance it fell out that when on their return to their own country, bringing with them the noble gift of knowledge, in the absence of Robert Edmund alone with his sisters stood by the bedside of his mother who was grievously ill. Being weak in body, but with her mind free from all care, although she now already felt that the axe was laid to the root of the tree, she said: "My dearest son, come nearer to me, and though my words appear poor to thy hearing, let my counsel seem not slight to thy judgment. For inasmuch as when I am gone thou wilt be left quite an orphan, whilst I still live, prepare to receive thy mother's blessing of mercy." With grateful spirit he followed the counsel of his mother, and in all simplicity and humility, bent his knee and received her blessing. Then his loving kindness made intercession on behalf of his brother and of his sisters, and with earnest prayer he entreated that they might receive the like blessing with himself. His mother understanding hereby that with true fraternal spirit he cherished his brother and sisters, though even now her breath laboured at the near approach of death, unable to conceal her joy of soul, said: "My dearest son, the Most High has made thee chief over him and them; and as it was granted to me to reflect thereon, I have blessed thee first, and thereby I have blessed them in thee. At my departure, I leave thee their careful guardian, and as it were the father of the

household ; and the Lord has heard my prayers on thy behalf, that thou mayest call upon His name, and be delivered in every necessity. As for thy brother Robert, his good behaviour and his skill in letters will make it easy for thee to provide for him. But there is one matter that will demand thy utmost solicitude. Since thy sisters, even though they have vowed perpetual virginity, keep their comeliness, suffer not that it may ever become the sport of lewdness. Thus make it thy care to guard both thy brother and thy sisters ; but with even greater diligence guard thyself, and subdue thy flesh to the lordship of the spirit, and let not the enemy have rule therein. And lest he should come upon thee and take thee unawares, I will leave to thee the armour whereby, keeping my own flesh in subjection, I have so often foiled his crafty suggestions, even the breast-plate and the hair-shirt. That thou mayest more easily win admittance for thy sisters into a monastery, to this end I have provided a certain sum of money, which thou wilt find in yonder casket." And with these words, with her finger she pointed out the casket. After having said these and other like things, his mother was silent, and putting aside all thoughts of earthly affairs, she fixed her mind upon God. Nor did she further recognise son or daughter, but with the eyes of her soul fixed upon heaven, even as were the eyes of her body, she expired.

And when it was noised abroad that she was dead, the clergy and people came together to pray for her, who, however, as is believed, stood in no need of the suffrages of their prayers. When, therefore, at last, the whole of her praise was chanted, as they marvelled to the utmost at her virtue, whereby she had laid hold of the kingdom of heaven, then the daughters of Sion behold her and pro-

claim her most blessed. Wishing therefore to perpetuate her memory, they adorned the grave with this epitaph:—

HERE LYETH BURIED MABEL, THE FLOWER OF WIDOWS,
WHOSE LIFE WAS THE PATTERN OF ALL
VIRTUOUS LIVING.*

Rightly indeed did they denote her sanctity by the flower; for of all that grows upon the earth we deem the flower the most excellent. The flower is the harmonious mingling of elementary qualities; the life of the seeds that conserve their kind; the hope of the fruit by which we support life; the charm and ornament of tree and shrub. Truly was Mabel the flower of widows, fragrant, fruitful, and fresh; fragrant with the odour of good esteem; fruitful in holy work; fresh with her singular purity. For although she lies withering in the grave, nevertheless she stands forth manifestly as the flower of widows, who is known to have been of powerful assistance in the time of affliction, not only to the neighbours, but also to pilgrims from afar, to whom the perfection of her sanctity was known, either by the evidence of their own senses, or by the relation of others.

**He places his Sisters in the Monastery at Catesby,
and returns to Paris.**

Ibid.

On the death of his parents, Edmund as the eldest son undertook the care of his brother and sisters, and became at once a pupil and a tutor. His simplicity, indeed, demanded that he should be taken care of himself rather than have the care of others, and so he became like one

* Hic tumultata jacet Mabilia, flos viduarum, cujus vita fuit virtutum norma morum.

taking charge of public interests, though he knew not how to take charge of his own, providing for others when he had not learnt how to provide for himself. Then, for the first time, he understood by actual experience the watchfulness, the anxiety, and the cares of those who have charge of a family. With labour and with a distracted soul he attended to some of the business. But it was fitting that more strict care should be taken in the matter which concerned his sisters, who were of marriageable age and of beautiful appearance; whose virginity like to a tender flower, and whose delicate virtue easily perishable, he felt as a double danger hanging over him. . . . But whereas he well knew that his mother's care had taught them, as the offspring of her own sanctity, to repress the motions of the flesh, and to refuse the advances of young men, he was joyfully refreshed by this most sweet remedy for his cares that he knew how his sisters far excelled other maidens. And when different reasons drew him hither and thither, finally, after much deliberation, he determined that he would place them, in accordance with the last wish of his dead mother, somewhere with religious, dedicated to God in a monastery. And, moreover, lest they should suffer harm by the stain of worldly life, he himself wished for this with his whole soul. When, therefore, Edmund heard by report that the poor priory of Catesby flourished with the holy riches of strict observance, he longed for such a place for his sisters. But when he went there in person, and wished to explain all these things to the prioress, she forthwith anticipated him with courteous words, and addressing him, though a stranger, by his own name, she said: "Trouble not, Edmund, to explain to me thy wishes with regard to thy sisters, for I already understand by revelation of the Lord the things that thou

willest. Let them come, therefore, and if they desire to stay, they will not be rejected." * And, conjecturing from the favourable answer of the prioress that the business entrusted to him by his dead mother was proceeding according to the will of Divine Providence, he rejoiced above measure, and secretly returned thanks to God, and placing all his solicitude for his sisters as a most heavy burden in the hands of the prioress, he cast away all other occupations for the only truly useful one, and being wholly freed from domestic cares, he returned to Paris, to follow out his happy course by continuing his study in the liberal arts.

**His Progress in his Studies after the Death of Mabel—
He becomes Lecturer in Arts.**

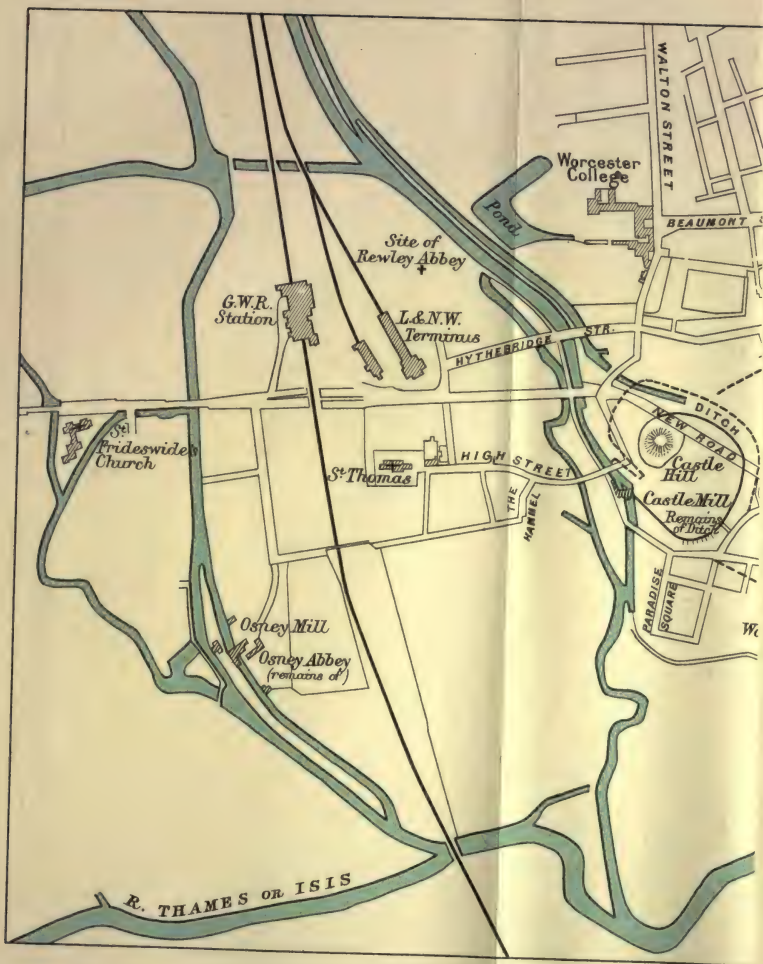
Ibid.

As he directed the attention of his mind, as yet scarcely brought back from his worldly cares, to the study of the liberal arts, he gained from them such delight that he spent his whole day in study, and at night, when wearied

* It is stated in some of the manuscripts that St Edmund went to several convents before he came to Catesby, but that in each case the superioress wished first to inquire as to the amount of the dowry that was forthcoming before consenting to accept his sisters. It must be remembered that in those days all such institutions were endowed, and most of them were well off. Although, therefore, it is lawful to require a certain sum to provide for the maintenance of a new subject—as is now regularly done—St Edmund seems to have looked on this solicitude about the amount to be paid as evidence of a worldly spirit, to which he would be no party. There was in those days no fixed sum as at present, and he looked for a community where the first care should be to ascertain whether a new subject would be likely to make a good religious, and where temporal considerations should occupy a secondary place. This at least seems the easiest explanation of what at first sight appears almost an unreasonable solicitude. The community at Catesby was notoriously a small and poor one.

out, he used to fall asleep hard by his lecture room. But his desire to learn well was not so great but that he wished even more to live well, and he kept the strictest religious observance of life. He strove to learn and to live as though he had set his mind in opposite ways: namely, he tried to learn as though he were to live for ever, but to live as though he were to die to-morrow. Upon these tasks above all were his fervour and industry employed. Earnestly, therefore, and with ceaseless diligence devoting his mind to the closest examination of things and their causes, he made such rapid progress that to scholars and masters alike he seemed like a miracle, not merely as a torrent of rich eloquence, but as a broad stream of wondrous science suddenly overflowing its banks. For which cause, as all showed themselves favourable and kindly to him, before it was his purpose, and as it were under compulsion, he began to occupy the master's chair. Wherefore the heavenly grace that perfects in might all that it begins in mercy, in order that no vice of ingratitude which brought low even the hosts of heaven might prove a hindrance, failed not his teaching even as it had attended his learning. Furthermore, not only to his own scholars, but to all masters and clerks generally he offered himself as a conspicuous example that they should despise the world and taste the sweetness of religion, and never by any excess quit the safe valley of humility. All that fosters or awakens or leads to pleasure of the world, and more especially pleasure of the flesh, he cast from him, and contrary to the usual custom, although not bound by any ecclesiastical benefice, but by the devout movement of his own will, wearing the clerical dress and the shaven crown, by his habit and his tonsure, he displayed himself a master more evidently of Divine wisdom than

of worldly. . . . The rich ones among his scholars he taught by the example of his own life, which was continually before their eyes, to despise the world, to serve God, to shun wantonness of life, and by transitory suffering to earn eternal happiness. But he was not less zealous to bestow his care upon the poor and needy, and sympathised with all the afflicted in their troubles, which not the voluntary love of virtue, but the imperative demands of poverty imposed upon them. . . . He loved the earnest, praised the industrious, and rebuked the careless; he moved the unskilled to study, the quarrelsome to peace, the indolent to fruitful labour, the wealthy to alms-giving, and the needy to patience; and thus prodigal of the riches of wisdom, he communicated freely to all what he had himself acquired with such care.





CHAPTER III

TEACHER AT OXFORD

He returns to Oxford.

St John's College MS. (Wallace, p. 603).

AND when he had been lecturing in Paris now a long time, being worn out by work and study, the sweetness of his fatherland called him back. Having returned across the seas, he changed indeed the heavens under which he lived, but his soul he changed not, and he retained his wonted manner of life. Indeed he endured nothing of comfort, for when lecturing at Oxford, he likened himself to the ox threshing, which has its mouth in the meantime bound up. He worked hard every day, ate sparingly, was harmful to no one, and helpful to all.

Regent in Arts at Oxford.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1786).

Having become, therefore, Master of Arts, he thought he ought to add something to the measure of his devout practices. Hence going beyond the custom of other lecturers, he was wont to hear Mass and recite the canonical hours every day, notwithstanding that he was not yet raised to holy orders, nor had he

undertaken to keep to this observance by reason of any ecclesiastical benefice, but by the inspiration of God alone, and the desire of His love with which he was on fire. And this religious custom was of profit not only to himself, but also to his pupils, whom he usually induced to hear Mass with him. But in order that he might follow out this devout worship more freely, he had a chapel built in the parish in which he lived, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, whom he ever honoured with a special love, and to the glory of God, from Whom such continual streams of grace flow to His holy one ; where even still Masses do not cease to be celebrated. But he showed how he held in disdain all temporal goods, for he would place the fees which he received from his pupils in his window, and covering them with dust as though to bury them, he celebrated their obsequies with these words: "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, thus should they rightly be consigned." And they would be taken away secretly, either in jest by his companions, or by thieves with evil intent.



Carving on the Exterior of the Ancient Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, Oxford.

Miraculous Sign of a lost Soul.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1780).

Upon a certain day, when on his way with one other, the companion of his journey, to his birthplace, that is Abingdon, he beheld a field as it were entirely covered by certain birds of very dusky hue. Then each of them marvelled at the vast number of the birds; but his companion was overcome by a strong amazement and trembling, which he could not disguise by silence. "I am affrighted," said he, "and in fear beyond measure." Then said the Blessed Edmund, "Stand a little retired from the path, and fortify thyself with the sign of the cross, and fear not; for we shall see what is the meaning of this portent of the multitude of birds." And after a little while, as they looked, those birds lifted up into the air a body quite black, not distinctly in shape either that of a man or of an animal, and then at last suddenly the multitude of birds passed from sight even as a cloud. Upon this the saint, turning to his companion, said, "Wouldst thou know the meaning of this portent?" "Yes," said he. Then answered the saint, "Understand those dread birds which thou hast seen to be devils carrying away to hell the soul of one that hath lately died in yonder town. The dead body which they lifted in air signifies the soul itself, which appeared without shape, because that while living in the body, it shamefully disfigured the image of its Maker after which it was made." And when they came right into the town* that they might learn of the marvel which

* From the Cambridge MS. we learn that the town or village was Chalgrove.

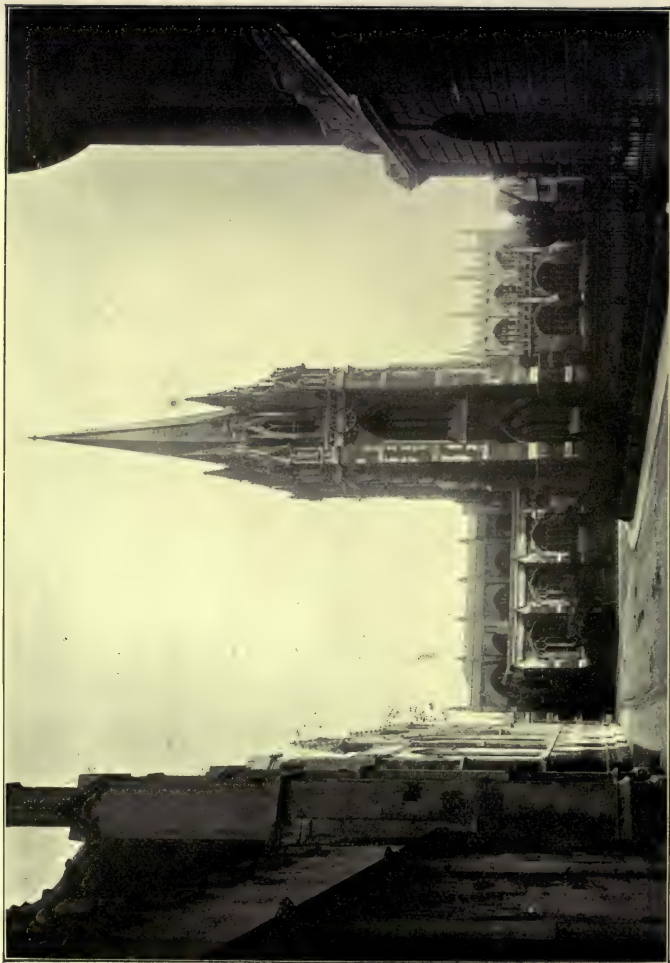
they had beheld, then they learnt that at the very hour at which the saint had spoken, a certain man had passed away from this world.

Mabel appears to him.

St John's College MS. (Wallace, p. 600).

While Edmund was lecturing on logic, but also on the sciences of the Quadrivium,* which he insisted on because of their intrinsic beauty and of the infallible certainty of their deductions, as his scholars were especially occupied on demonstrating the proof of certain problems, he was drawing some geometrical figures on the ground. But blessed Mabel, then lately dead, taking pity on his great labours on behalf of earthly science, which leads to little or no increase of true virtue, appeared to him in sleep, saying, "My son, upon what art thou lecturing? What figures are these which thou art studying with such care?" And he answered, "I am lecturing to my companions on such and such things," showing the drawings which are commonly made in that subject. Forthwith, she took his right hand, and drew thereon three circles, on which she inscribed the three names in order, Father, Son, Holy Ghost. And when she had done this, she said, "My dearest son, such figures study in future, and no others. For although thou hast given great care to other matters, yet their consideration has not moved thee greatly to the happy knowledge of those things better than all treasures, for the gaining of which thou wast born. Calling to mind, therefore,

* The Liberal Arts were divided into two classes, called respectively the *Trivium* (Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric), and the *Quadrivium* (Music, Geometry, Arithmetic, and Astronomy). It is interesting to note that the most characteristic feature of Oxford study, viz., Aristotle, was introduced by St Edmund at this time.



Great St Mary's, Oxford.

that I have never deceived thee, trust me now, and putting these aside as useless, give thy care to those things from which the fruit is beyond measure more savoury, and whereof thy own savour should be attended with fruit." Having said these few words, she vanished from his sight; but he, rising up, understood the vision, and whereas he had for six years lectured in Arts with wondrous success, he now betook himself to the study of Holy Scripture; and as God opened to him the knowledge thereof, all that he had learnt previously to theology he accounted mere mud and bricks.

Student and Teacher of Theology.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1788).

With such eagerness and diligence did he give himself to his sacred studies, that in the pursuit of them he would pass his very nights almost without sleep. For it seemed to him that his days were few and short, in comparison with the greatness of his love with which he sighed for the chaste embraces of the fair Rachel, with whom he longed to enjoy the delights of union, such being his holy purpose.

Nor was he defrauded of his desire, but in wondrous manner did he progress in knowledge in a short time. According to his own estimation, he laboured little at his work, and quickly partook of the fruit which it brought forth. For with the attentive ear of his heart receiving the seeds of God's word, he produced rich harvests of knowledge as though from good ground saturated with heavenly waters.

Thus so marvellously did he progress in a short time that after a few years, at the instant request of many, he ascended the magisterial chair, though unwill-

ingly. For although he was urged by the love of truth and justice, he nevertheless believed himself unequal to the burden and unworthy of the honour. Being made therefore Doctor of Scripture, and placed as a light on a candlestick, he endeavoured to assist all as though he had been born for all men.

His devout Exercises.

Ibid.

And when he was Regent in Arts, he used to hear Mass in the early morning, but now for the increase of piety he would hear Matins at midnight, as well as the canonical hours. For when the bell rang for Matins in the Church of the Canons of St Merri in Paris,* he bent his way thither to hear the office. And after Matins it was his custom to remain in prayer with tears and groans before the altar of the Blessed Virgin until day-break. Then without allowing any interval of repose for the body, he would accompany others to the schools. And just as he frequented the church at midnight for the sake of prayer, so for the like reason was he careful to go there at vesper-time. In the church, too, he demeaned himself with the greatest reverence and devotion, and never, or only upon the rarest occasions, did he seat himself.

His Charity to poor Scholars and Others.

Cambridge MS., fol. 44a, col. i.

It can never be fully expressed how he overflowed

* From this and the following extract, it seems clear that St Edmund had returned to Paris to study theology before teaching it at Oxford, though such is nowhere definitely stated. See Appendix C.

with pity towards the poor and afflicted. For when he was studying Scripture, he sold a beautiful psalter with glosses, the five books of Moses, a book of the twelve prophets with glosses, and the Decretal Letters, and gave the money to the poor scholars of Paris. And when his comrades marvelled why he did as no other students were wont to do, to one who asked him he said, "O foolish ones, all things ought to be sold for the love of Christ, and given to the poor." And again when he noticed the hand of a certain scholar at Paris to be paralysed, being moved with pity, he offered 100 marks to a certain physician if he would cure it. For he was at that time well off. He gave assistance to many poor clerics in the schools. In the exercise of hospitality or other pious works, so prodigal a dispenser was he, that whatever was under his control, might be considered common to all. No one ever left his door empty-handed, but to every one who came from all sides he gave either bread or vegetables, or other gift, especially during the time of famine.

He loses his Bible on his Journey to England.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1796).

When he was on his journey returning from Paris to England, he gave his Bible to one of his companions to take care of for him. But he, being negligent in his care, finally knew not what had become of the Bible. On learning this the holy man was greatly incensed. But soon recognising that it was irreparably lost, he calmed himself. That once, as he used to say, he was angry; but on no other occasion throughout his life.

He stays at Merton Abbey.*Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 549).**

It appears that before he publicly lectured on theology he stayed for a year and more in the house and monastery of Merton,† and for a long time afterwards he often went in and out of the cloister as though one of the children of the same church. For some of the brethren took much delight in his conversation, and were inflamed by his counsels, having an unspeakable admiration for his life. For while living in the world, he trod the world under foot, and though young in years he excelled his elders in faith, doctrine, learning, and prudence; and what is wonderful to relate, though taking rank with seculars, he appeared to them not only as a religious, but as the very soul of all religion. For in his lectures and meditations he was earnest, in his prayers most devout, always persevering in fasting and vigils, never omitting any of the morning offices through sleep, but coming to all as though he had been bound by their duty. Nor did he perform the outward acts only of religion, but he aspired to even the most secret ones, which he had learnt from the Holy Spirit. Indeed he possessed the key of all religion, for he had made a compact with his eyes so strictly that he hardly knew by sight a brother who had waited on him at table for more than a year. . . .

And so had the Divine wisdom conferred on him all the comeliness of virtue that, in the words of the Apostle, "his speech was always in grace, seasoned with salt."‡

* The original testimony of the Abbot of Merton, from which the author of the *Life in the Cotton MS.* appears to have taken what follows, is given by Martène (iii., c. 1899).

† An Augustinian Abbey in Surrey.

‡ Col. iv. 6.





Christchurch Cathedral, Oxford.

For from out of his mouth never came aught but peace, and chastity, and compassion, and charity; nor did any one abide in his heart but the fountain of all these, even Christ Himself; who through him administered to others much fruit of charity, joy, peace, modesty, and continency. And when during his reading at Merton he had heaped together a rich harvest in the chamber of his heart, as in a storehouse at the time of reaping, at the request and earnest entreaty of many, he went to Oxford to lecture. And there for many years he brought forth fruit by his lectures and sermons, admired by all, increasing more abundantly the talent committed to his charge.

He receives Holy Orders.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1793).

But after he had been raised to the priesthood,* to which he consented as it were unwillingly, as he had in the case of the other sacred orders, from thenceforward the harsh laws which he had drawn up against his flesh he tried to strengthen and to render more severe. For the day before he celebrated Mass, no less than on the day itself, he made it a rule never to eat meat, whence at times a whole month would go by during which he was a stranger to the use of meat, from which he had cut himself off in this way. Very rarely did he eat twice in a day, and when he did so, it was at the instigation of guests who were with him. To perfumes, spices, and other drugs of this kind he was a total stranger. Why need more be said? Such strict abstinence did he

* There is no record as to precisely when he was ordained, nor is it known for certain whether his ordination took place in France or in England: see Wallace, p. 91.

impose upon himself, that it can hardly be expressed by the pen. Hence some of his friends thought that he would incur wandering of the brain, or, what is worse, death itself. And not without reason. For he so afflicted his body by abstinence from food, by the labour of vigils, by continual meditations and prayers, by the effusion of tears, and in many other ways, that one would scarcely believe that the strength of the human body would suffice for so many labours and pains. . . . He had a bed, indeed, sufficiently well provided ; but he



Remains of the Shrine of St Frideswide, Oxford.

did not lie on it, but on a foot-stool, or sometimes on the ground itself. At times he would lean his head against the bed. At times, again, he did not rest the whole of his body, but the half of it, when he would sleep in a sitting posture. And this he is believed to have observed for thirty years or more. He had no

coverlet or quilt or linen sheets, but covered himself with his gown or cloak and a rug.

His Success in Lecturing.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1789).

How devout and moving he was in his lectures is proved by the grace of devotion so frequently shed abroad on his hearers. For oftentimes many noted men, who were wont to flock together to hear him, with one accord closed their books during the lecture, for they could not refrain themselves from tears. He had, as it were, honey and milk beneath his tongue, and so drop by drop he shed no small sweetness into the minds of his hearers. Hence it came to pass that many renowned doctors came forth from his schools, who followed in the steps of his holiness according to their measure. Some, too, who were honoured, or rather burdened, with ecclesiastical benefices, having freed themselves therefrom, entered religion, being inflamed with the fire of his speech. For there was infused into him a heavenly grace which spread itself from his lips to others, and the flame which burnt on the altar of his own heart showed to others, more clearly than any light, the road in which to walk. But in order that it may appear what fervour spread from his words, we will here record the vision of fire which he saw in sleep. One night he saw in his schools a large fire, out of which seven burning torches were brought forth, which contained the mystery of what was to follow. The next day, as he was lecturing, a certain Abbot of the Cistercian order* entered, who, when the lecture was finished, took away with him seven of his pupils whom the sevenfold fire had inflamed.

* The Abbot of Quarr, a monastery in the Isle of Wight.

For the fire of the Word of God, which the Holy Ghost spread amongst his pupils through his mouth, had inflamed their hearts more ardently to a contempt for the world and a love of poverty. Whence, having put away all temporal affairs, and taken leave of the world, giving themselves to the monastic profession in the monastery of the said Abbot, they thus happily chose the road of life. The venerable Father Stephen,* now Abbot of Clairvaux,



Iffley Church.

was one of those whom the aforesaid Abbot, as though by a miracle, led away with him.

But in disputations, as he was learned in grammar and skilled in logic, and also adorned with the eloquence of rhetoric, his speech was as a fair face without spot or wrinkle. His features, such was the Divine goodness,

* Stephen of Lexington, afterwards Abbot of Stanley in Wiltshire, and later on Abbot of Clairvaux.

were well proportioned, and possessed of a subtle and joyful graciousness, and his complexion was fresh beyond that of the other disputants. . . . The garments which he usually wore were grey, neither too mean nor too costly ; for, knowing the middle course in all things to be golden, he wished to have them moderate in quality, as is demanded by the dignity of the clerical state, which should be encircled by virtues. These garments reached down to his ankles and were closed in the lower part, like those which a religious is directed by the rules of his order to wear. And after he had ceased to use them, he would give them to devout maidens or pious widows. He wore no covering for the head, nor gloves for the hands, and he refused everything which savoured of levity or wantonness.*

St Edmund at his Studies.

Cambridge MS., fol. 42b., col. 1.

His books were placed before him on the students' table, and in front, at the head of the table, he had an image of Blessed Mary the Virgin, of the purest ivory, and of singular beauty, and all round about her throne were shown, in wonderful carving, the mysteries of our redemption. . . . From his book he took his lecture ; to the image he addressed his prayer ; from both came forth the sweetness of contemplation and the contemplation of sweetness. . . . Thus lecture gave place to prayer, prayer to contemplative devotion, contemplation to earnest lecture, in peaceful interchange ; or rather they followed each other with marvellous rapture. From early morning till dinner-time he used to shut himself in his study, lest any one should

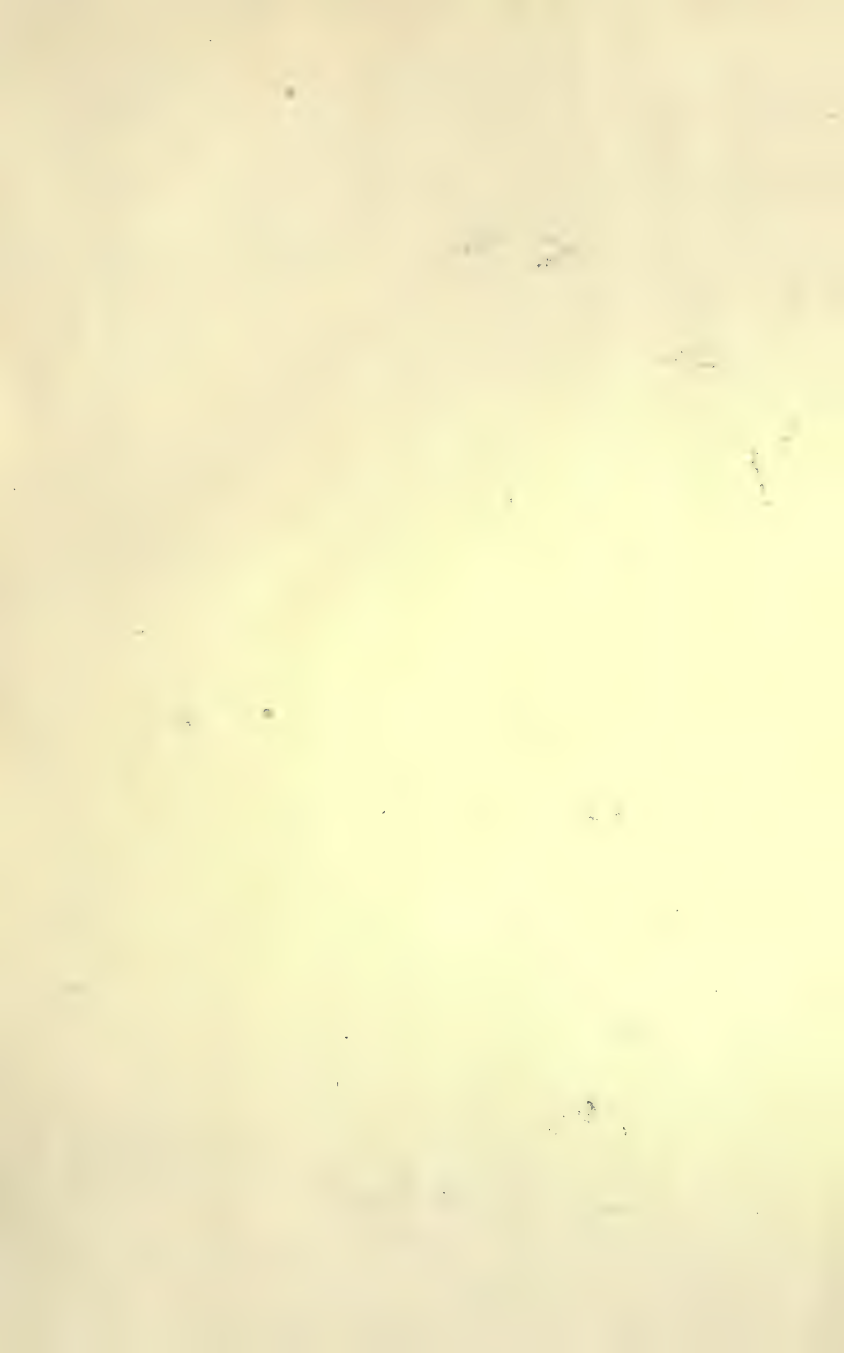
* From an examination of the body at Pontigny in 1853, it appears that his height was 5 feet 11½ inches.

come and hinder him. Three periods he considered as lost—that spent in eating, or in sleeping, or in travelling on horseback; for at these times he was unable to give himself to study.

Conflict with the Devil.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1791).

It was his custom each day or night to recall in meditation the chief mysteries of our Lord's passion, cleaving to the very marrow of them with sweetest delight. Wherefore among such wonders, this also, which seems worthy of marked remembrance, happened to him. Upon a certain festival day, worn out with much business and care, since he could not prepare his lecture for the morrow, he had to remain without sleep almost the whole of the following night. Then about dawn, when the longing for sleep overpowered him, he remembered that at no hour of the day had he, according to his practice, made his meditation upon the Passion of the Lord. Yet, as he knew that the dawn was approaching, when he must, according to custom, make his way to the church to hear Mass, and thence to the schools to lecture, fearing lest he should suffer severe headache if he did not yield to his pressing need for sleep, he chose to rest awhile, and in reliance upon the grace of God, to omit on that occasion his usual act of contemplation. When, however, according to his accustomed manner, he had leant against his bed in order to sleep, the ancient enemy appeared before him, with foul and awful countenance. Being terrified thereat, he lifted his right hand to make the sign of the cross; but the devil caught and held it in order to prevent him doing so. Behold how since he had neglected to set the seal upon his heart so that he might



tato gubernati. Usq; cotidie sollempnē di-
uina celebrantur: & rebus leccōib; ac p̄di-
catōib; ab eruditore scientie noua & ueta
proferre p̄dent erudiunt. Ut tā cibo spū-
ali qm corporali reficiant sustentati.
Similiq; pietatis spū tactus idē rei. De
Quodā uobis hospitali oronnis hospita
stituit n̄ p̄cul a ponte: ut illi dē i f̄. h. i. reg-
ni & peregrini sue remedii p̄cipiant ne-
cessitati. Rex anglorū fuit apud Glouinā
Hno dñi m̄. cc. xxviii. Ad Natale.
Qui & ann' h. regis xviii. idē
rex ad natale dñi tenuit curia
suā apud Glouinā cū paruo Admo-
dū comitatu. Quia recesserant ab eo magna
tes mlti q̄ spoliati erant a reb; omib; apud
brosimū i p̄dēm. Quo utiq; tēpe cepit
tra gelu ḡuit cōstigi ita q̄ fruges sūsto-
calmē: & aff. Radices ē: libat in aris ad

take the impression from Him that sealed it, the adversary hindered the very shaping of the seal. Nevertheless, trusting confidently in the Lord, as though he had another right hand, he raised his left hand to make the same sign; but the devil, after seizing it in the same manner, fell like a heavy load upon him. Then, as the strength of his body failed, he prayed in spirit to the Lord to crush with his power that dreadful enemy. Then the devil was suddenly torn from him, and cast headlong between the bed and the neighbouring wall. The saint therefore arose quickly, and beholding the fiend thus prostrate, strengthened in faith, he began to attack him as an enemy, and seizing him fiercely by his throat and throttling him with force, he spoke thus: "By the sprinkling of the blood of Christ I adjure thee that thou fail not to tell by what power it is that I can avail to do thee greater injury, and restrain thee from molesting me." Then the devil said: "Even by that which thou hast named." And thus overcome, he vanished, grieving that he was overpowered by one who he deemed would be crushed by his might. Nor was this the sole occasion that he beheld the demon; he beheld him frequently and at divers times.

He sees a Vision.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1790).

On a certain day he took his seat in order to lecture, intending to treat of the Trinity—not an easy question in truth, but a profound one—and, as he sat, he was pondering the matter in his mind while waiting for the scholars, who had not yet arrived. Meanwhile, he fell into a light slumber, and had the grace of beholding this marvellous

vision. He saw the Holy Spirit come to him in the shape wherein It descended from Heaven when the Lord was baptised in the Jordan. A dove, that is, came towards him from above, in unbroken flight, bearing in its mouth the wonder-working body of Christ, which, as though vouchsafing Holy Communion, it placed within his lips, and so flew swiftly aloft into heaven. After he awoke he treated with the utmost clearness of the Blessed Trinity ; and as though exceeding human skill, with words more than mortal, he disputed so well, stating the difficulties and then solving them, and reduced this question to such simplicity, that almost nothing was left undiscussed, no objection unsolved, especially in those matters which are known only through a glass and in figure, and in this present life are understood only according to the measure of man's capacity. Wherefore his hearers, men of high attainments, were astonished at his deep thoughts and his eloquent exposition, because in his words he seemed to speak with the tongue of an angel, and in thought to surpass the reason of man. And no marvel, for he had drawn from the torrent of delight that which he poured forth into the devout breasts of his hearers.

His good Repute.

Testimony of Robert the Cistercian (C.C. Col. MS., p. 378, col. 2).

In Holy Scripture he was a renowned Doctor ; in preaching he was marvellously fervent and devout ; in hearing confessions he was assiduous, and a guide most holy and prudent therein. Even as I found in my own case, he was a lover of poverty, and a friend of the poor ; zealous in his love of souls ; with a hatred of degradation and of vice, which he strove everywhere and at all times to

uproot. He was a staff for the sick, the refuge of the weak and destitute, and most munificent in training needy scholars. In the use of his own goods, he was sober ; in adversity, he was bold ; to all men he was gracious ; and in eloquence delightful. His joy had a fitting gravity ; and he showed mirth and gladness, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

His Charity to his Sick Pupils.

Cambridge MS., fol. 44b., col. 1.

The more he progressed in virtue, so much the more did he in marvellous manner humble himself in all things.



Tower of St Michael's Church, Oxford.

Whence, while he was still Regent in Arts, when a certain poor pupil of his was ill, he had him carried to his own house, and every night for nearly five weeks he stayed up with him ; and nevertheless the next day he went on with his lectures and disputations as usual. Often the vessel

fell from the hands of the sick man, through his weakness of the head, and it was never broken, which was perchance due to the prayers of Blessed Edmund.

Veriloquium of Robert Bacon, Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 562).

It happened that one of his scholars had an ulcer on his arm, and he went to Master Edmund and showed it to him, who spoke some such words as *Sanet te Dominus*: "May the Lord heal thee." The next day his pupil came back and said he was well; and as Master Edmund told me, he himself had that ulcer on his own arm for a considerable time. . . .

One day Master Edmund visited a certain sick scholar, a noble youth, and when he was about to depart the sick man pressed him to stay. Afterwards I asked him his reason for so doing. He answered and said: "While the Master was with me, it seemed as though the whole house was full of perfume while he was exhorting me." For he rarely spoke to any sick man without a few words of exhortation.

How he Spent his Vacations.

Letter of the Abbot of Reading (Martène, iii., c. 1909).

When sometimes he was invited to our monastery from Oxford, where he was teaching theology, he would stay with us in the time of vacation, namely, at the feast of Christmas. And whereas at such a time men are wont to allow themselves some relaxation, he omitted nothing of his accustomed strict manner of life, continuing his abstinence from food, his laborious vigils, his frequent holy meditations, his assiduity in prayer, his continual flow of tears, his numerous genuflections, his unwearied use of the doctrines of salvation, and the austerity of a

hair-shirt, which he nevertheless kept concealed as far as he was able. Hence it came to pass that from so great edification, both in the gravity of his words and in the good example that he showed, that many of our brethren whose hearts God had touched, considering what and how great signs of sanctity he possessed, looking on themselves as slothful and lukewarm in comparison with him, although he wore the secular dress, while they were vested as religious, according to those words of Isaias, "Be ashamed, O Sidon, saith the sea," began to blush for their own want of fervour, and in imitation of such and so great a man, to lead a life more mortified than had been their wont.

He is offered Benefices.—The Conditions on which he accepts them.

Veriloquium of Robert Bacon, Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 564).

When such great things were spoken of this holy man by the report of others, those most famous and chosen prelates of the English Church, Stephen,* Archbishop of Canterbury, and Walter,† Archbishop of York, as well as other great men, hastened to emulate each other in enriching him with greater honours and larger revenues. We have thought well to relate how these offers were received, and one example will do for many. When therefore the Archbishop had sent his messengers to him, offering him the government of a certain church, which usually brought in for its rector a yearly sum of 200 marks, after some time for deliberation, Master Edmund answered and said to the messenger who had come: "Friend, knowest thou in what state this church is, which His Grace thy master is about to

* Stephen Langton.

† Walter de Grey.

confer upon me—as to the condition of its chancel, its vestments, books, and other things which are provided at the expense of the rector?” The answer was, “Undoubtedly, it is in a very poor state.” And when he had been informed about this, he made answer to the messenger, “To-morrow thou shalt relate to thy lord that the post which is offered me I receive and accept, lest perchance the Romans, or others like them, who care nothing for the sheep of Christ but for their milk and wool, should seek to lay covetous hands upon it.” Having been appointed therefore over this church, as a faithful and diligent steward, he spent all the income of the church in enlarging the chancel, in re-roofing and decorating it, and in purchasing ornaments and whatever else was necessary; keeping nothing whatever for himself. And he continued to keep this office for several years, till all the wants of that church were amply provided for. But afterwards, lest he should be obliged to render an account of souls, or lest he should be forced to mix himself up in worldly litigation, which would prevent his attending to the studies of the scholars, he resigned everything.

He Resigns his Professorial Chair.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 553).

And when for many years he had taught the law of the Lord, in which work his whole soul was poured out day and night, and it seemed to him that the subtleties of disputation could not be pursued without a certain vainglory, for this reason he gave it up, and resigned his professorial chair.



Salisbury Cathedral.

CHAPTER IV

TREASURER OF SALISBURY AND RECTOR OF CALNE

He is elected Treasurer of Salisbury.

Cambridge MS. (Wallace, p. 604).

AND Richard,* Bishop of Salisbury, a venerable and wise man, eminent for having transferred the city† in order to remove the clergy from the vexatious annoyances of the soldiers, seeing and admiring Edmund's many excellencies . . . and the height of virtue to which he had attained, called him to the office of treasurer of his church. But he, preferring the restfulness of his wonted poverty, had scarce the will to change thither. At length, however, suffering himself to be prevailed upon, he so behaved himself that to this day he is held in sweet remembrance by the clergy there. They hope for no treasurer so good, nor can they remember any that was better.

The Duties of Treasurer.—St Osmund's Register.

[The work known as St Osmund's Register is a revision of St Osmund's original work, made at the time of the foundation of the

* Richard Poor, Bishop of Salisbury 1217-1229, when he was translated to Durham. St Edmund became treasurer about the year 1222.

† The See was removed from the fortified town of Old Sarum to its present site by Bishop Richard Poor in 1219. See Notes on the Illustrations.

new See. St Edmund seems to have had a large share in it. The first part consists of the "Consuetudinary," giving all the duties of the various officials and the arrangements for the public worship in the Cathedral. We learn from it that the treasurer's stall was the first one on the Gospel side, and that it was his duty "to take care of the vestments and treasures, and to provide lights." The number and position of the lights are stated in full, and vary according to the festival. To meet the expenses, the prebend of Calne was henceforth attached to the treasurer's office, and he was to reside there for one-fourth of the year. St Edmund was the first treasurer of Salisbury who was also rector of Calne. The date at which he became so is uncertain. His predecessor there was the famous Robert Grosseteste, who was Archdeacon of Wilts, and still at Calne in 1221. Since the deed permanently annexing Calne to the treasurer's office is dated 1226, it would appear that St Edmund had then been there some little time. During all the time that he was Treasurer of Salisbury, together with all the Canons, he subscribed one-quarter of his income for the building fund of the new Cathedral.]

His Manner of Life at Salisbury.

Testimony of Robert the Cistercian (C.C. Col. MS., p. 379, col. 2).

When he was living at Salisbury, where he filled the office of treasurer, he never failed at night-time to make his way to the church at the hour of Matins, and after Matins he watched through the night alone in the church even until daylight, intent upon prayer and contemplation. From drinking he refrained himself marvellously before the time of dinner; but in summer, when the extreme heat and burning thirst oppressed him, he took in a cup of boiling water what they call a diet-drink. Whence it came to pass that once as the hair fell away from his head and beard, on account of the want of moisture, he seemed for a time wholly bald. And inasmuch as neither can the mind recall nor the tongue avail to relate all the separate marvels of his austere life, in order to be brief I mention this only, that by scantiness of food, by shortness of sleep, by rough hair-shirts, by incessant study and meditation,

and by other labours beyond number, he so mortified his flesh that it became astonishing in the eyes of his household how his strength could endure for labours so many and great, since they seemed beyond the measure of human power.

Another Account.

Testimony of Stephen the Subdeacon (C.C. Col. MS., p. 378, col. 1).

About midnight he was wont to rise, and thenceforward to remain in prayer and contemplation. Then



Salisbury Cathedral—Lady Chapel.

straightway he went to Matins in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, and after Matins remained watching until the first Mass. During his prayer he very frequently bent his knees and dashed them upon the ground, and made frequent acts of adoration with his head or his whole body; and from his repeated kneeling, his knees became tense and hardened. In reading he was constant, deeming all time lost that he had not spent in the Divine service. At the hearing of pleas and

law suits he was never present, except only at those in which the peril of his parishioners was involved.

He rarely took part in the discussions of his own Chapter, and then in a manner unwillingly, and so entirely did he condemn worldly things, that he disdained to listen to the reckonings of his goods, or to enter his own cellars or other store-rooms. He refused hospitality to none. To the poor and the sick he was bountiful and compassionate, for which cause he was always burdened with debt. He never willingly accepted presents. Never at all would he suffer his head or body to be washed. He shunned with the greatest care all boastfulness, or the praise of men, and taught others to avoid them. So ready was he in the love of his enemies, that he seemed to prefer their wrong-doings to the loving services of his friends. He was constant in the hearing of confessions, and a prudent guide therein. He devoted himself willingly to the great, but to the humble he was ever kind and sweet, and to all, more especially to the poor, mild, pitiful, and easy of access. He was fervent in charity, constant and devoted to preaching, and endowed moreover with the gift of tears, wherewith both in praying and in preaching he was copiously bedewed. To be brief, he lived soberly, justly, and piously in this world, and never, as I truly believe, did he stain with mortal sin the innocence which he received in his baptism. And this too was the constant assertion of those who had known him from his early years even to the day of his death.

His Charity to the Poor.

Testimony of Robert the Cistercian (C.C. Col. MS., p. 379, col. 2).

Of his works of mercy, I will now add what I previously omitted. The shelter of his roof was open to every wayfarer, and no one ever publicly asked for alms and went away from his door empty-handed, unless

this happened through the carelessness of his servants ; and when it did happen, and by chance came to his knowledge, he was very displeased, and rebuked them severely for their negligence. In time of famine, he caused to be bestowed on all, with generous compassion, sometimes bread, sometimes pulse, sometimes herbs. And moreover, whatever was put before him for his own dinner, he always set aside a portion of it on a large dish placed in front of him, which he ordered to be sent to the sick. And whenever there were poor pilgrims, he used to distribute food to them with his own hands, at the same time giving them sufficient beverage.

He exceeds his Income.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1795).

He distributed his income so lavishly among the poor and needy, that it could scarcely be made to suffice for necessary expenses for more than half the year ; for which reason, being compelled by want of private means, he often spent the other half of the year in the Monastery of Stanley,* where Stephen of Lexington, a man worthy of veneration, was Abbot. Whence this same Abbot, at times with familiar boldness, rebuked him, saying that he was extravagant, for that he spent more than he knew that he had means to afford ; and that he ought to moderate his expenses (said the same Abbot) according to the amount of his income, so that it might last for himself and his house-

* Stanley Abbey, or "Empress Stanley," as it was called in memory of Empress Maud, its foundress, was an offshoot of Quarr Abbey, some three miles from Calne. There is nothing left of it, but its site is known, and is occupied by some farm buildings, which are visible from the railway between Calne and Chippenham,

hold the whole year. To this he answered: "I wish to be lavish rather than economical in my expenditure, lest I should furnish the wicked with matter for scandal or detraction. For, with serpent-like tongues they are wont to say that dignitaries of the Church are covetous. And I freely entertain at my table courtiers and men of the world, so that then at least I may draw them to the love of God." He did not attend the arguing of law suits and pleas, from which he obtained exemption by Letters Apostolic, and he was present at the discussions of his own Chapter about temporal affairs only unwillingly and against his own inclination. And since he used before to regard temporal affairs as dirt, now being further advanced in perfection, as though trampling them under foot, he looked upon them as absolutely nothing. He did not deign, I will not say to touch, but even to look at money, save that which with his own hands he distributed to the poor.

His Preaching.—The Clouds obey him.

Cambridge MS., fol. 42a, col. 1.

He was most zealous in preaching; whence a large number of clergy and laymen and women in response to his words put off the old man and put on the new, and many renounced the goods of this world. When he was about to preach, he would not speak to anyone unnecessarily before his sermon. On one occasion a woman, who was a notorious sinner, came to him to mock at him, saying, "Let us go and see this hypocrite." But when he had addressed some salutary words of advice to her, entering into herself, she entirely abandoned her former way of life.

St John's College MS. (Wallace, p. 605).

When he was Treasurer of Salisbury, he deemed that he ought to exercise the office of preacher more often than formerly. And once when he came through Oxford,* in order to preach there, and by common consent both students and townsmen came together from all sides as though it were to a solemn banquet, a violent storm of wind arising drove clouds of dust around them, and a black cloud came over and enveloped the whole sky with darkness, threatening a heavy downpour of rain or hail. Edmund, however, seeing that on this account those who had come together were on the point of going, strong in faith and secure in hope, commanded the spirit of tempests lest it should dare to hinder those wishing to listen to the Word of God, but that it should prevent, or at least remove to another place, the threatened flood. He had hardly finished when the wind subsided, the clouds dispersed, and the splendour of the golden sun, calming the movement of the air, brought back over the land the brightness of noonday.

On another occasion when he was about to preach at Worcester, a similar approach of a threatened storm was in like manner seen, by those who came to the sermon, to be averted.

But a miracle greater and more wonderful than both of these was seen near the borders of Wales, brought about by a like chance. As the people were sitting assembled in a crowd, a whirlwind having arisen, a cloud threatening a storm hung overhead, which darkening the whole air, turned day into night. But once

* From another MS. we learn that the sermon on this occasion took place in the churchyard of All Saints', Oxford.

more Edmund, with confidence that after the darkness should come light, adjured the spirit of storms, in the name of the supreme Lord, that it might not be allowed by a heavy downpour to compel the people to desist from listening to the saving precepts of Christ. O wonderful mercy of God! those sitting round about the saint were wholly untouched by the fury of the rain; but the ground adjoining where they were was flooded on all sides.

His Appearance when Preaching.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1791).

When he was preaching before the people, he was wont ever to hold the Lord's Cross in his hand, whereon he looked constantly, at one time to weep tears of love, at another to smile with reverence. He wept, as he was accustomed to say, because though there were many hearers of the Word, there were few doers thereof, although they had the Passion of Christ before their eyes, and were not without countless examples of the saints. But he would smile when his loving eye looked upon the Cross, remembering the blessing that it had brought into the whole world.

He is Commissioned by the Pope to preach the Crusade.*

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1799).

His good repute spread beyond the Alps, and reaching Rome, came to the ears of the Pope. And

* This refers to the Crusade proclaimed at the Fourth Council of Lateran in 1215 by Innocent III., which was renewed on the accession of Gregory IX. in 1227.

inasmuch as he stood forth as a lover of the Cross, the Apostolic Father imparted to him the mission of the Cross, giving him faculties to receive the usual fees from the churches and their rectors, that he might be supported by the temporal goods of those whose spiritual good he was nourishing. He never used these faculties, however, but preaching the Gospel freely, he urged on the warfare at his own expense. For this reason, during his missionary journey, God was pleased to honour him with numerous miracles. When, on a certain day, he was propounding the Word of God before the people at the town called Leominster, a young man, weary of the pleasures of youth, came up, begging that the holy man would give the Cross into his hands; and a certain woman, wishing to dissuade him from his purpose, drew him back by the cloak. But she did not escape punishment; for she quickly paid the penalty of such presumption. Her arm was straightway paralysed, which gave her to understand the unlawfulness of calling back a soldier of Christ from so holy a purpose. And as she felt this vengeance coming upon her, with tears and groans she cried aloud. The holy man, the bearer of the Divine message, enquired from the bystanders what this might be. But she who was concerned in the matter told him the cause of her cries: how her hand had suddenly become paralysed, and how she called aloud. Who, having learnt more fully of the circumstances, asked the woman whether she was ready herself to receive the Cross of Christ. Who said, "I am." And while the man of God made the sign of the cross on her shoulders, as his hands touched her, the woman felt restored to perfect health.

Again, on another day, when he was to preach at

Buckland,* where there is a convent of nuns of the Cistercian order, before he came to preach, a certain deceased nun prophesied to another who was still alive, in these words: "Master Edmund is coming (she said) to preach to the people; see that thou givest him yarn, which thou wilt find in such a place, that he may make crosses thereof." The living woman, believing the words of her who was dead, took the yarn from its place and brought it to the man of God that he might make crosses thereof; and very many were signed with the crosses made of this yarn, and yet the yarn itself appeared to diminish but little, to the great astonishment of the beholders.

Another time, he preached the Word at a town called Stradeyvy,† to the people, whom he invited with salutary exhortations to take up the figure of the Cross of Christ. And when a certain youth had stood up to take the Cross, a woman, his mistress, held him back, to restrain him from his purpose, and forthwith the just vengeance of the Lord seized suddenly hold of the presumptuous woman, and she lost the sight of her eyes, in punishment for her crime. Who, standing, called out till the air re-echoed with her cries. Whence all the people, together with the blessed man himself, pitied her. But the man of God prayed for her, and she received back her sight; and thus she returned home with joy, praising God for the grace He had conferred upon her.

His Bible is saved from burning.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1801).

And while he was exercising the same office of preaching the crusade, on a certain night he was study-

* There are many villages of this name in England; the one here alluded to seems to be Buckland in Somerset: see Wallace, p. 128.

† The situation of this place has not been identified.

ing his Bible by aid of a candle, and being wearied by his vigils, when attacked by sleep he was unable to resist. And it chanced that, whilst he slept, the candle fell upon the pages of the book, and in that position it burnt for a long time. And when he awoke, he was astonished, and sighed to think of the fate of his Bible, which was most dear to him. And lifting the candle, he blew off the ashes which had remained over the book; and he found that the Bible had sustained no injury by fire.

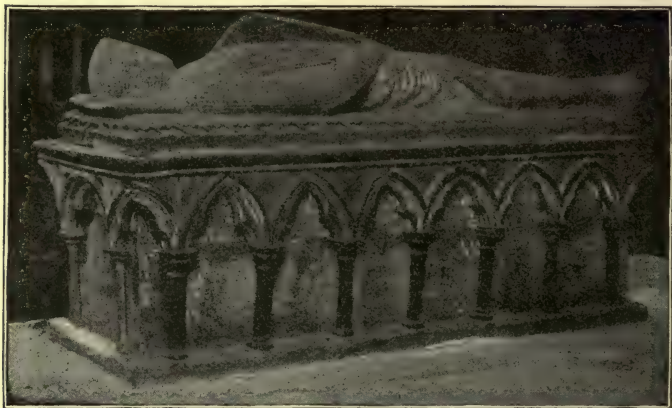
His Friendship with Ella, Countess of Salisbury.—He converts her Husband.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1791).

The noble Ella, formerly Countess of Salisbury, and now the venerable Abbess of the convent which she has at her own cost founded upon her own lands,* was admitted to the favour of close friendship, which she had merited by her holiness of life. Her husband was William, surnamed Longsword, a truly distinguished man, inasmuch as he was an earl, and sprung from the royal stock. But the lustre of his descent was less bright than it should have been, for want of fitting lustre of character; for during a long time past he had not been to Confession, nor paid any heed to receiving the Body of Christ according to the rule of the universal Church. His noble wife induced him to follow the counsel of the saint, and thereby to begin to amend his state of life. And when he first beheld Edmund face to face, at the sight of the saint his mind, fierce like that of the brutes, soon grew more human; and

* Laycock Abbey, in Wiltshire, founded in 1232. The nuns were Augustinians.

turning to his wife, "I believe (said he) that that man is truly a saint." Thenceforth he heard him gladly, and the seed of the Word of God gained such strength in his heart that, laying aside his former fierceness of character, he changed his life for the better; for at the saint's bidding, and in his presence, with lowliness of heart, he confessed his sins to a certain hermit, and then with due reverence received the Body of Christ.



Tomb of William Longsword, Salisbury Cathedral.

The Abbess, who was then his wife, was ever persuaded that had it not been for the saint's warnings, prayers, and merits, the soul of the earl would in the end, after death, have passed to everlasting torment.

She is herself miraculously cured of a Sickness.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1798).

When the venerable Abbess of Laycock, of whom we have above made mention, was once sick with a fever, the blessed man promised that he would send her a physician

who would cure her more quickly than was possible by any art. Afterwards he sent her some relics, namely, of the blood of St Thomas: forthwith the woman was cured, and the fever departed. Some will say that this is not to be attributed to his merits, but to those of the blessed martyr. Be it so; for we prefer to yield to the opinion of another rather than to give rise to contention. This much, however, no one of sound mind will deny to belong to his own merits, that he foretold as a prophet that health would quickly be restored to the said woman by the relics of the aforesaid martyr. But the above-mentioned Abbess, at that time a noble countess, offered him beautiful and costly jewels; which, however, he would scarce even look at, and would by no means consent to accept.

Incident at Calne.*—Apparition of the Dead.

Lanercost Chron. (p. 38).

He had given his secretary a rule that he should keep a light always in readiness for whatever time he might want to rise. Now it happened once, in the depth of winter, that he arose during a stormy night, and went to the doors of the church. His chamberlain hearing him, went all over the kitchen and other household offices in quest of a light, and in order not to be discovered, he traversed the village from house to house. And seeing at the far end of the village a house with a light shining, and the door open, he hastened to the spot, lit his lamp, and repaired quickly to the church. In the meantime the prudent pastor had gone to the churchyard, to apply the benefit of his prayers on behalf of the dead, and lo! he saw all the

* It is not distinctly stated where the following incident took place, but it seems most probable that it was at Calne.

tombs open, and the bodies of the dead rise up above the ground as far as their waists; among whom he saw one, whom the sign of the tonsure showed to be a priest, speaking to the others thus: "My brethren, let us make a recompense to him who while he lived was wont to induce people to pray for the dead." And beginning the psalm *De Profundis*, he recited it in alternate verses with the others who had returned to life. And when they had finished the Lord's Prayer, and the priest had said the collect, he ended with the words "May we rest in peace!" And as they answered "Amen," all forthwith returned to the depth of their graves. And whilst these things were seen, the servant hastened up with a candle. He was asked where he had found the light. He answered at the end of the village, where lay the body of a poor man who had been wont to go round with a bell, begging prayers for the souls of the dead. At this the prudent man, being consoled and edified with the vision, returned thanks to God.

Consecration of Part of the new Cathedral.

St Osmund's Register (ii., p. 37).

In the year of the Incarnation, 1225, Richard, Bishop of Salisbury, seeing that the building of the new Church of Salisbury had been by the will of God so far advanced that Mass could be fittingly celebrated therein, rejoiced with great joy, for he had spent both much effort and much money in its construction. He gave his command to William, Dean of Salisbury, therefore, to summon all the Canons of the Church of Salisbury, that they might come on the Feast of St Michael next following and assist at the joyful solemnity of their mother church,

when for the first time Mass should be celebrated therein; and that on the day following the feast, there should be held an ordinary conference on the affairs of the Church of Salisbury.

At the summons of the Dean and Chapter, therefore, there came together on that day the under-mentioned canons, numbering thirty-seven:—*

The Lord Bishop (who is also a Canon).

W[illiam], Dean.

G[alfridus], Precentor.

Robert, Chancellor.

Edmund, Treasurer (who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury).

Humphrey, Archdeacon of Wilts.

William, Archdeacon of Berks.

Herbert, Archdeacon of Dorset.

Martin de Patteshull.

Luke, Dean of St Martin's, London.

Hugh de Wells, Archdeacon of Bath.

Gilbert de Lacy.

The Abbot of Sherborne.

Anastasius, the Succentor.

Master R[obert] de Bingham.†

Master Roger de Sarum.

Daniel de Longo Campo.

Elias of Dereham.

Master Henry de Teisse.

Master Henry de Bishopston.

Master Luke de Winton.

Master Martin de Summa.

Master Richard de Bremble.

Master Thomas de Ebelesbourn.

Master Henry de Sancto Edmundo.

Master Geoffrey of Devon.

Master Roger de Worthe.

Hugh de Templo.

William de Len.

Robert Coterel.

Peter Picot.

Elias Ridel.

Richard de Maupodre.

Bartholomew de Kemes.

Valentine.

Stephen de Tyssebury.

On September 28, therefore, being the vigil of St Michael, which happened to fall on a Sunday, the Bishop of Salisbury came in the morning and dedicated three altars in the new cathedral. The first, at the east end, he dedicated in honour of the Holy and Undivided Trinity and all the saints, on which Mass of the Blessed Virgin should be said daily for the future.

* So in the MS., but in fact there are only thirty-six names.

† Afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

The same Bishop dedicated on that day, for the service of the same altar, and for a daily homage to the Blessed Virgin, two silver lavers of . . . weight, and two silver candelabra of . . . weight ; and these were provided by the testamentary disposition of a certain noble woman who had left them by her last will to the Church of Salisbury. Moreover, the same Bishop gave from his own resources, to the clerks who should assist at the said Mass, enough to provide a fixed income of 30 silver marks every year, and in like manner 10 marks every year for the provision of the lights to surround the same altar. He also dedicated the altar on the northern side in honour of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and of the other Apostles. The third altar, which is on the southern side, he dedicated in honour of St Stephen, the first martyr, and of all the other martyrs.

And while these things were taking place, there arrived first, Henry, Archbishop of Dublin, and immediately afterwards Stephen,* Archbishop of Canterbury. And after time had been given to prayer in the new cathedral, they went down together with many of the magnates of the realm, to the house of the Lord Bishop, who indeed entertained the whole company of assembled magnates at his own expense, honourably and sumptuously, during the whole week.

On the day following, being that of St Michael, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury preached a sermon to the people, who were present in great numbers. At the conclusion he entered the new cathedral, and therein celebrated solemnly the Divine Sacrifice. And the afore-said festival, so happily begun, was by the favour of God equally well carried through to its conclusion, so

* Stephen Langton.

that it was not in any way interrupted or disturbed.

The following are those who, in addition to the knights and barons, were present at this festival:—

S[tephen Langton], Archbishop [of Canterbury].

Henry, Archbishop of Dublin.

Richard, Bishop of Durham.

Jocelin, Bishop of Bath.

Ralph de Neville, Bishop of Chichester.

Benedict, Bishop of Rochester.

The Bishop of Evreux, in Normandy, who was formerly
Abbot of Bec.

Richard, Bishop of Salisbury.

There was present likewise among them a certain cleric of the Lord Pope, named Otho, who had then recently come to England on account of some difficult negotiation which he had not yet disclosed. And a day had been appointed for him by the Lord King, namely, the day following the Feast of St Michael, at Clarendon, for him to propound to the Lord King the purpose of his visit; who, on the day appointed, strove to restore peace between the King of England and Falcasius, a certain evil-doer, who, during the year last past, had disturbed the whole land, for he had strengthened and defended with his own men the castle of Bedford against the king. But as to this, he asked nothing more than that a relation of these events should be given to the Lord Pope by letters royal, and by those of certain of the great men of the land. The same Otho, moreover, the envoy of the Pope to the Lord King, brought about the reconciliation of Peter-des Roches, Bishop of Winchester.

Vacancy of the See of Canterbury.

[Stephen Langton died in 1228. His successor, Richard Grant, was appointed the following year, and soon afterwards went to Rome on business connected with his See. He died on his journey homewards, on August 3, 1231.

The election of the new Archbishop rested, by special privilege, entirely with the Benedictine Chapter of Christchurch, Canterbury; but their election had to be approved by the king and finally confirmed by the Pope.]

Hist. Ang. (ii., p. 337).

When Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, died, the monks of Canterbury decided to petition for the election as their Archbishop of Ralph de Neville, Bishop of Chichester, who was the king's most faithful chancellor, having been appointed to that office with the consent of all the barons. The election, or rather the petition for election, having been rightly made, the Convent presented him to the king on September 24. And the king joyfully accepted him, so far as he was concerned, and forthwith invested him with the manors and other things attaching to the Archbishopric. And the monks set out for Rome to beg for the confirmation of their petition. But the Lord Pope,* having made a careful inquiry through Master Simon Langton,† about the one petitioned for, received answer saying that he was a courtier and a frequenter of the king's palace, and quick and hasty in speech, and of a haughty disposition; and what is more serious, if he were promoted to this dignity, he would be willing to endeavour to free England from the tribute of the Roman Church. And the Pope

* Gregory IX., who reigned from 1227 to 1241.

† Archdeacon of Canterbury, and brother of Cardinal Stephen Langton.

having heard this, annulled the election, and gave leave to the Convent to choose another as their pastor.

Hist. Ang. (ii., p. 340).

And the Convent of Canterbury chose John,* their own Prior, as Archbishop; who, having been presented to the king and accepted by him, set out for Rome to request that his election, rightly made, might be confirmed by the Holy See. . . .

And when he had shown the letters of his election, it seemed to the Pope that, although a holy man, he was too old and simple, and therefore unequal to so great a dignity. He was a worthy man indeed, but not fit for this post. And when the Pope had persuaded him to give way, the elect with humility renounced the election that had been made, and begged for leave to return home forthwith. Leave having been granted, the Pope commanded the monks that they should with great care elect another one, such that he could place on him this burden and the pastoral charge with safety.

Hist. Ang. (ii., p. 345).

The same year [1232], during the autumn season, Master John, surnamed Blunt, a clerk eminent for his learning, a lecturer on theology at Oxford, was elected to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Who, being accepted by the king, and favourably received by him, set out for Rome with certain monks of Canterbury, that the Pope might confirm his election. . . .

But the election of John Blunt as Archbishop of Canterbury was annulled. For it was reported at Rome

* John of Sittingbourne.

that after his election he had accepted as a gift from Peter, Bishop of Winchester,* 1000 marks of silver, besides another 1000 marks which he had lent to the same John for the promotion of his interests. They were thus of one heart and one mind, and the same John was simple and pliant. And the same Bishop also wrote to the Emperor, asking him to use his influence with the Pope to secure the election of the aforesaid John; whence the Pope was displeased at his ambition. Moreover, he confessed when at Rome, that he had two benefices to which was annexed the cure of souls, in opposition to the statutes of the General Council;† wherefore since he had no dispensation, he was blamed, although it was alleged that he had possessed them before the General Council.

Election of St Edmund as Archbishop of Canterbury.

Hist. Ang. (ii., p. 355).

But since three elections to the See of Canterbury had now been annulled, and the aforesaid church had been for a long time deprived of a pastor, [the Pope] gave the monks‡ the right to elect a pastor for themselves, and they elected Master Edmund of Abingdon,

* Peter des Roches.

† The Fourth Council of Lateran, in 1215, promulgated a decree against pluralists.

‡ *i.e.*, the monks who had come to Rome. In the *Chronica Majora* it is stated that the Pope *directed* them to elect St Edmund; and the words about their unwillingness to accept him without the concurrence of the Convent indicate plainly enough that the Pope's action was autocratic; and this is confirmed by the author of the *St John's College MS.*, who says that he had sent special messengers to England to make full inquiries as to whom it would be best to elect. The formal election took place at Canterbury, on October 10, 1233, and it was confirmed by the Pope on December 20.

a man of eminent learning and sanctity, and a lecturer in theology. And with promptitude the Pope also sent the pallium to him, so that the Metropolitan See should not any longer be troubled by being deprived of her pastor; and thus he showed himself favourable beyond all expectation to him, unknown though he was, with happy omen for the future. But the monks said that they would receive neither him nor any one else without the consent of the Convent. They therefore went with haste to Canterbury, where they promptly obtained the thanks and applause of the whole Convent. From thenceforward the most blessed Edmund rising from virtue to virtue, having gained the favour of God and man, received a happy increase in all his distinguished gifts; and the Lord taking pity on him, directed all his works, as the following pages will clearly show.

Messengers sent to Salisbury.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1802).

And the election having been made in the usual way, canonically and unanimously, special messengers forthwith joyfully set out to go to him. And coming to the Church of Salisbury, in which the holy man held the office of treasurer, they sought for him, but he was not to be found there. But the Dean having learnt the object of their visit, after saluting them, said, "You are at the same time welcome and unwelcome; welcome indeed, because you do our church an honour by electing your Archbishop therefrom; unwelcome because you wish to take one who is not so much the treasurer as the treasure of our church, to be Bishop of your own church."

They proceed to Calne.*Ibid.*

And not finding him in that city, the messengers proceeded to the town of Calne, where they found the man of God giving himself to Divine contemplation and the government of his flock. On hearing the happy news, his household forthwith clapped their hands. And



Calne Church (Exterior).

one of his more familiar servants, unable to conceal his heartfelt joy, with gladness went in to him while he was at study in his room, speaking thus: "Behold my lord (said he), the monks of Canterbury are come to bring you news of your election, made unanimously and by common consent, as Archbishop of Canterbury." For he hoped to receive something for announcing the good news, as is customary on such occasions. But not only

was he disappointed of his hope, but he was sharply rebuked and told to be silent, and he retired crestfallen from the room. For the holy man took no notice of what he said, as though it was of no importance. And when this servant retired, ashamed and looking foolish, no one else dared to go to him to talk about this matter. Seeing this, the messengers marvelled not a little that he did not rush out more quickly to meet them. It



Calne Church (Interior).

may easily be believed how agitated and perplexed they were that so cold a hearing, or rather no hearing at all, was given them on a matter so favourable. Where then are the ambitious ones—those coveting the honours of the world, and of their own accord thrusting themselves, by fair means or by foul, into the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth; struggling to intrude themselves by lawsuits and strifes, by promises and bribes, by intrigues and

pretences; endeavouring to enter the sheepfold by the crooked ways of the serpent rather than by the door? Edmund is sought for and scarce deigns to come. But in his accustomed manner, at his usual time, neither earlier nor later, he came out to them. And when he had saluted the new-comers, they expounded to him the cause of their journey and for what purpose they had come. Which when they had explained, shedding profuse tears, and heaving deep sighs, he protested that he was unfit, humbling himself in these words: "I am a worm, and no man. I have not the merit nor the learning which you suppose. All the world is deceived in this respect. You also are deceived and in error." And they prayed earnestly in order to induce him to change his mind, but were unable to bring him to accept such a burden.

They go to the Bishop of Salisbury.

Ibid.

But as they persisted in their purpose with their entreaties, the following day he went with them to the Bishop of Salisbury,* to whom they told and explained the facts of the case. The Bishop decided that he ought to consent to the election, and commanded him to do so in virtue of holy obedience. And his fellow Canons and many other friends urged him no less strongly to do so. But he remained firm and immovable in his resolution, nor would he as yet by any means consent. The third day, therefore, they returned to the aforementioned town, and the messengers strove with all their might by many arguments to extort his consent.

* Robert de Bingham, who was elected in 1228, in which year Bishop Richard Poor was translated to the See of Durham,

For they said that he would sin mortally if he refused, and they besought him not to displease and offend God ; for they said some one else might be elected in his stead, through whom the Church of Canterbury might suffer no small harm.

He consents to accept the Archbishopric.

Ibid.

At length, overcome by their entreaties, or rather convinced by their reasoning, he gave his consent, which, however, he did not express in so many words. But he said, "He from whom nothing is hidden, knows that unless I thought I should otherwise sin mortally, I would never consent to my election." Being satisfied with this imperfect answer, they took the words out of his mouth and conducting him before the high altar, prostrated themselves with him on the ground, and intoning the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, they rang the bells ; and all rejoiced and exulted in the praise of the Creator. And there were mixed sounds there of sorrow and joy, of exultation and weeping, of which the discordant concord and concordant discord rang joyfully in the ears of the bystanders.

CHAPTER V

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

The Archbishop-elect begins by representing to the King the Grievances of his Subjects.

Chron. Maj. (iii., p. 268).

AND the King of England came to a Parliament at Westminster, on the Purification of Blessed Mary, [February 2, 1234] . . . Now there were present at this Parliament Master Edmund, Archbishop-elect of Canterbury, with many of the suffragans; and they all, grieving at the desolation of the king and his realm, came to the king, and said, as with one heart and soul and voice: "O Lord King, as thy faithful subjects we declare to thee in the Lord that the council which thou now hast and employest, namely, Peter,* the Bishop of Winchester, Peter de Rievaulx, and their abettors, is cruel and perilous to thyself and to the realm of England: first of all because they hold the English name in hatred and scorn, styling them traitors, and making all to be so styled, turning thy own mind from the love of thy nation, as well as from our hearts and those of thy nation from thee; whereof an instance is seen in the Marshal, who is the best man in thy land, whom by the lies they have sown they have estranged far from thee. And it was through this same

* Peter des Roches,

council, that King John thy father lost first the hearts of his nation, and then Normandy, afterwards other lands, and at last spent all his treasure and well-nigh the sovereignty of England, and never had peace thereafter. Through the same council in our time the realm has been disordered and under interdict, and then the land was made tributary, and the sovereign over subject lands (alas, the shame!) was made inglorious under tribute.* Then after the war began and continued for a long time, thy father died like an exile, in peace neither with his kingdom nor with his own soul, and so through these men fell into the peril of death. By the same council the Castle of Bedford was held against thyself, where thou didst lose brave men and a store of treasure; for the which cause meanwhile thou didst lose Rochelle, to the shame of the whole realm. And so too the disorder now impending, dangerous to the whole land, has come to pass through their unrighteous design.* Yet if thy subjects had been treated with justice, according to the true law of the land, that disorder would not have happened, and thou wouldst have had thy realm intact, and thy treasure unexhausted. And in the fealty wherein we are bound to thee, we declare that thy council is not for the peace, but for the perturbation of the land: for thus do they who profit not by peace desire increase, namely, by the disorder of the kingdom, and the disinheriting of other men. Furthermore, they have in their hands thy castles and thy power, as though thou oughtest to distrust thy own people. And again, since they have thy exchequer and all wardships and thy greatest escheats in their control, they are willing to wait, and according as they shall at last answer so we believe wilt thou always approve. And since except

* Lam. i. 1.

by thy seal, or the mere bidding of Peter de Rievaulx, scarce anything of weight is done in the kingdom, they hold thee as no king at all. Likewise by the same council the native subjects of the realm are banished from thy court, whence there is reason to fear for thyself as much as for the kingdom, since thou seemest to be more in their power than they in thine, whereof there are many instances. Next, they have in their control the maid of Brittany * and thy own sister,† as well as many other noble maidens and other marriageable ladies in wardship and right of marriage, whom they bestow upon their own followers, and despoil. And the sworn and confirmed law of the land, strengthened under pain of excommunication, as well as justice itself, they confound and pervert, whence it is to be feared that they are excommunicated, and thou also for communicating with them. They regard neither promise, pledge, oath, nor written bond, nor do they dread excommunication. Whence those that have departed from truth are desperate; even as they that abide in fear lack confidence. Thus faithfully do we speak to thee; and before God and man we advise, entreat, and warn thee to remove such a council far from thee, and as the custom is in other lands, to administer the kingdom by thy own faithful and sworn subjects of thy own realm. For we threaten thee in truth, that unless in a brief space these things be corrected, we will take proceedings against thee and against all other gainsayers by ecclesiastical censure, waiting only for the consecration of our venerable father, the elect of Canterbury.”

After this was said, the king humbly craved a brief respite, declaring that he could not so suddenly remove

* Eleanor, daughter of Geoffrey, Count of Brittany.

† Eleanor, afterwards married to Simon de Montfort; see p. 135.

his council until he had taken reckoning of the treasure committed to them. So ended the Parliament, and all withdrew with the confidence that concord would shortly be secured.

Consecration of St Edmund.

St Paul's MS.

In the year of the Incarnation 1234, on Mid-Lent Sunday, namely April 2, there came together to



Consecration of St Edmund. (From a drawing by Matthew Paris).

Canterbury for the consecration of Master Edmund of Abingdon, the Archbishop-elect, King Henry (son of King John), together with the Earls of Lincoln, Albemarle,

and Hereford ; Stephen de Segrave (the Justiciar of England), Brian de l'Isle (Justiciar of the Forest), the Advocate of Bethune, Peter de Malolacu, William de Stuteville, William of St John, Walter de Dunstanville, Ph. de Abiniacus, Henry de Capella, Ralph (son of Nicholas), Godwin of Dowe, Ralph Gernun, Hugh Despenser, Geoffrey (his brother), William Talbot, Bartholomew Pecche, Reginald of Cornhull, Bertrand de Crioil (the constable of Dover), William Brito, Earl Richard (the king's brother), and others. There came together also— Luke (Archbishop of Dublin), Roger (Bishop of London), H. of Rochester, P. of Winchester, J. of Bath, R. of Salisbury, W. of Exeter, W. of Worcester, R. of Chichester (the Chancellor), H. of Ely, J. of Ferns ; all the others being excused, of whom the Bishops of Lincoln and Hereford sent their letters of excuse to the Bishop of London and his fellow Bishops, but the others to the elect and his fellow Bishops, which P. Cantor of London* read publicly to all, and having read them, handed them to Master R. de Gloucester, the official of the Archdeacon of Canterbury. And the Bishops sat on their thrones before the high altar in this order. In the middle was the Bishop of London, on whose left was the Lord King, and after him the Bishops of Winchester and then of Exeter. On the other side, on the right of the Bishop of London, was the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishops of Bath, Ely, Worcester, and Ferns. And the Bishop of Rochester rose, as though beginning a speech : “ Among my predecessors, the Bishops of Rochester and the Bishops of London, there has hitherto been commonly a contention as to which should have the preference in consecrating the Archbishop

* *i.e.*, P., the Precentor (see towards end of document).

of Canterbury, and which of them should perform the ceremony of consecration. But considering how distinguished is the man to be consecrated, and what great and powerful men have come together for the consecration, as the Lord King himself has, I am unwilling at this moment to contend; but I am well pleased that the Bishop of London should perform this function, but without prejudice to the right, if any, of my church." The Bishop of Bath also rose, and said that although by reason of seniority, since he was consecrated before any of them, he ought to consecrate the Archbishop of Canterbury, he also was unwilling to contend, and was well pleased that the Bishop of London should perform the consecration. And thus with full leave and permission, the Bishop of London consecrated the Archbishop of Canterbury on that day, while the Bishops of Rochester and Chichester were present at the examination. There were present on behalf of the Chapter of London—Master Robert (Archdeacon of Middlesex), Hugh (Archdeacon of Colchester), Henry the Chancellor, Alexander the Treasurer, P. the Precentor, W. of the Church of St Mary, William, son of Robert, Master W. de Purl (Canons); Elias de Paterna, and other well-known clerks; Master Reginald (Archdeacon of Lewes), William (Treasurer of Chichester), Ernest the Precentor, Master Gentil, Master Robert the Precentor (of Hereford); Nicholas de Neville, Richard de la Lada, Simon of Norwich, Silvester St Geoffrey de Woleward, Ralph of Leicester (clerks); the Chancellor of the Lord King, Ph. de Ardern, Master R. (Archdeacon of Suffolk), John de Wanton, David (Archdeacon of St Asaph), P. Abinor (Abbot of Vaudey), Robert (a monk of Durham), Master Alexander (a secular priest), Robert of Stafford, John de Offington, Geoffrey de Fering, and Gilbert

Perdris; John de Colerne, Ralph Brito, John de Purl, Alan de Archis, Gregory of Polstud, and many others.

The Bishops warn the King a second Time.—He promises Amendment.

Chron. Maj. (iii., p. 272).

And there assembled at a Parliament at Westminster on the first Sunday of Passiontide,* which was the 9th day of April [1234], the king with the earls and barons, and the Archbishop lately consecrated, along with his suffragans, that they might take wholesome measures against the disorders of the realm. The Archbishop, together with the Bishops and other prelates then present, coming to the king, disclosed to him the counsel of himself and the Bishops concerning the desolation of the kingdom, and the peril that was impending, dwelling again upon the grievances above named and declared in the conference previously held with him. He warned him openly that unless he should quickly abandon his error and make peace with the loyal subjects of the realm, he would himself, with all the Prelates then present, straightway pronounce sentence of excommunication upon the king, and upon all those who were gainsayers of this peace and hinderers of concord. But the pious king, hearing the counsels of the Prelates, made humble answer that he would in all things follow their advice. Wherefore, a few days later, understanding his own fault, and moved by repentance, he bade Peter, the Bishop of Winchester, to depart to his own bishopric and give himself to the cure of souls, and henceforth in no way meddle with the business of

* *i.e.*, the Fifth of Lent, just one week after St Edmund's consecration.

the kingdom. And to Peter de Rievaulx, to whose will all England lay subject, he gave a peremptory order to restore the castles, to render straightway an account of the treasury, and to depart from the court; declaring with an oath, that if he had not held a benefice, and had not been enrolled among the clergy, he would himself cause both his eyes to be put out. All the Poitevins, moreover, he expelled both from his court and the castles and sent back to their own land, with the charge that they should not again look upon his face.

**The Archbishop is sent to Wales to make Peace
with Llewellyn.**

Ibid.

Then the king, who in every way longed for peace, sent Edmund, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of Chester and Rochester, into Wales, to Llewellyn and Richard the Earl Marshal, to treat with them of peace. And so the king, by banishing his evil counsellors, recalled to their obedience the natural subjects of his realm, submitting himself to the guidance of the Archbishop and Bishops, through whom he hoped to bring back his distressed kingdom to a state of prosperity.

The King hears of the Death of the Earl Marshal.*

Chron. Maj. (iii., p. 289).

About the same time, after the Festival of Easter, whilst

* Richard, Earl Marshal, son of the Earl of Pembroke, died of the effects of wounds received in a quarrel in Ireland, on April 16, 1234. He had previously borne arms against the king, in company with Hubert de Burgh, in Wales; and his death was brought about apparently by a plot of Peter des Roches, who obtained the signature of King Henry by fraud.

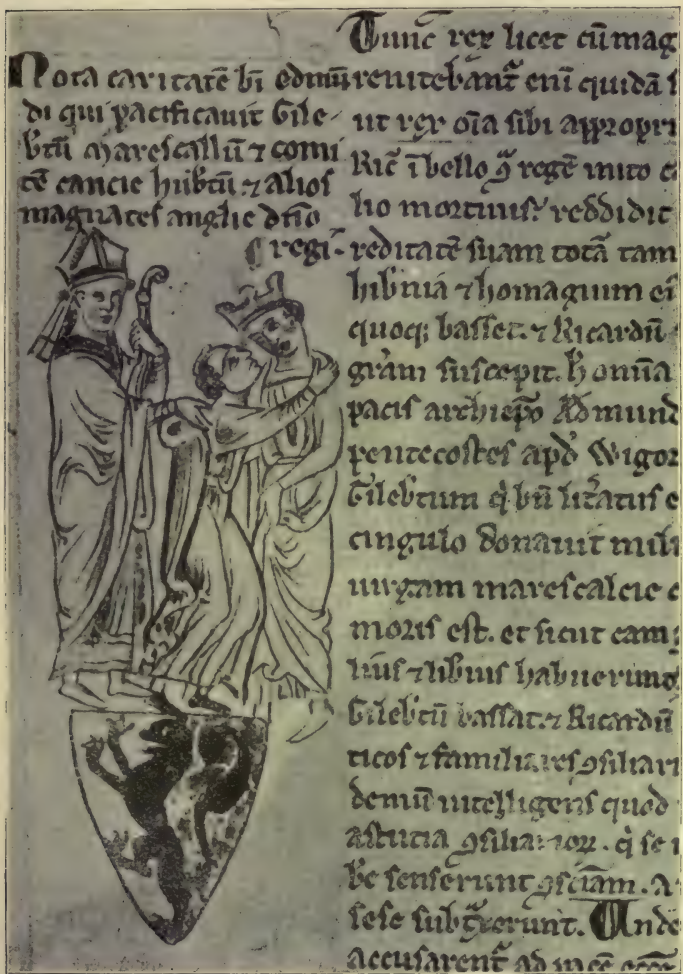
the King of England was on his way to Gloucester, desiring to meet the Archbishop and Bishops, whom, as we have said above, he had sent into Wales, he came to his manor at Woodstock to pass the night there. Thither came to him messengers from Ireland, telling him the ill news of the Earl Marshal's death. Then the king, to the wonder of all present, breaking forth into weeping and lamentation, bewailed grievously the death of so great a knight, declaring constantly that his death had left none equal to him in the realm. Then summoning together the priests of his chapel, he caused the Office of the Dead to be solemnly chanted for his soul; and on the morrow, when the solemn Mass was ended, he bestowed large alms upon the poor, being like in this to David mourning the loss of Saul and Jonathan. Happy, therefore, the king who knew how to love those that offended him, and at last to pray with tears for his faithful subjects, whom upon false suggestion he had held in hatred.

St Edmund as Peacemaker.

Ibid.

And when the king, after proceeding thence, had reached Gloucester, there came thither Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops that had been sent with him to Llewellyn, reporting that they had conferred with the latter upon terms of peace. And it was a condition, that before all, the nobles of the realm that were confederate with Llewellyn, who through evil counsel had been exiled from England, should be reconciled with the king. When this had been done, the concord would be more surely strengthened. The Archbishop said to those sitting around, perchance in the hearing of the king, that they reached this result

after many arguments, and that menaces were occasion-



St Edmund as Peacemaker. (From a drawing by Matthew Paris.)

ally interjected on the part of the king and all the clergy. To these menaces Llewellyn is said to have replied "I

dread the bounty of the king more than all his knights and clergy." Then the king, who longed in every way that peace should be made, issued by letter a summons that all those proscribed should come to Gloucester on the Sunday next before the Lord's Ascension, that is upon the 28th day of May, for a conference, and to receive his full favour together with their fiefs. And that they might do so without any suspicion, they were to be brought under the safe conduct of the Archbishop and Bishops. There came, therefore, to the king's presence, with the Archbishop and Bishops for their intercessors, Hubert de Burgh,* once Justiciar of England, whom the king received with serene countenance, taking him to his embrace and to the kiss of peace, restoring him to his former favour, and with him the other exiles. Then Hubert, Earl of Kent, with grateful recollection, joining his hands and looking up to heaven, said, with heart and lips: "O Jesus crucified, my Saviour, whom once in my sleep I beheld covered with blood and wounded on the Cross, and on the morrow at Thy bidding spared Thy emblem and worshipped it, now by Thy grace at fit season hast Thou repaid me a blessed requital." And in order to make this his reference more clear to his hearers, we will make a short digression from our subject. It happened, when the war waxed fierce in the days of King John, that the soldiers along with the king's bodyguard were, as is common in war, intent upon fire and rapine. At the head of them was the aforesaid Hubert. Now, upon a certain night, as he lay deep in sleep upon his bed, there appeared to him the Lord hanging upon

* Hubert de Burgh, afterwards Earl of Kent, had succeeded the great Earl of Pembroke on his death in 1219 as chief administrator of affairs during the king's minority. His downfall was brought about in 1232 by the intrigues of Peter des Roches, his rival.

the Cross (even as He is oftentimes represented in carving by the hands of the artificer), Who said: "When thou shalt again behold My effigy, spare Me thereon; bear it away and worship it." Then, when journeying upon the morrow, he met a single priest, greatly distracted and running, clad as he was in alb and stole and maniple, and bearing upon his shoulder a great cross with the image of the Crucified. And the priest spoke aloud, crying with tearful voice: "O Lord, deliver the church where I minister from the robbers who have ravaged this land, and plundered all its goods." And Hubert, looking up, beheld the figure hanging upon the Cross, like in all things to that which he had seen the previous night, and coming from off his horse, he worshipped it; and straightway, with the priest to guide him, he delivered the land, and restored all the goods to the church which had been despoiled. Therefore, Hubert, Earl of Kent, calling this vision to mind, gave praise and glory to God, for that he was reconciled to the king, and to the king's faithful friends, and set free from many afflictions and tribulations. And all this the aforesaid worshipful Eárl Hubert ascribed to God alone and not to man.

He intercedes for the Brother of the Earl Marshal.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 556).

When Richard, the Earl Marshal, was killed in Ireland, the king made some difficulty in appointing Gilbert to the inheritance, though he was his brother and next of kin, moved by this reason, that the Earl Richard was killed while fighting for the king's enemies, against the king himself. The Archbishop, therefore, loving Gilbert, for he was truly lovable, condoled with him in

his trouble, even as he ever poured out his soul in pity for the afflicted. With haste, therefore, he approached the king, who was then at the royal manor of Woodstock. And the king, with all reverence and urbanity, rose to receive him with an embrace, saying to him: "Welcome, father; and what is the cause of thy coming with so much trouble?" But he said: "A great cause, my lord; even the salvation of thine own soul, and the prosperity and safety of thy kingdom." And as a preface to what he was going to say, he set forth and explained with eloquence and rhetoric, the virtue of charity; and then he besought him most earnestly, with hands clasped, and tears in his eyes, on behalf of the aforesaid Gilbert, entreating that one brother should not be made to bear the guilt of another, nor should the fault of the guilty one in any way react on him who was innocent. And having brought forward theological reasons, in which he was well versed, he effectually besought and entreated him that he should put away all bitterness of mind, and grant even an increase of his favour by giving him the whole of his inheritance, together with its official dignity. And the king, being moved with pity, looking upon him with joy of countenance, answered thus: "O good Archbishop, thy prayers have much weight and great force; for whereas I was steadfast in the anger I had conceived, now thou hast moved me to mercy and to unlooked-for grace." And I will recount the courteous, amiable words of the king, which he spoke in the vulgar tongue; for he said simply, and with a sweet smile: "O how well thou knowest how to pray! Pray in this manner to God for me, and I doubt not that as God is more merciful than I am, He will generously hear thee. But I also will hear thee; be it done as thou hast requested."

Hist. Ang. (ii., p. 371).

Then the king restored to the same Gilbert his whole inheritance, both in England and in Ireland, and received his homage. And he received Gilbert Basset and Richard Seward into full favour, all this being brought about by Archbishop Edmund, the son of peace. Afterwards, on the day of Pentecost, at Worcester, he presented to the same Gilbert, who was a learned and distinguished man, a knight's belt, handing him also the wand of his office of marshal of his court, as is customary, and as his predecessors had held it, though they obtained it with better grace. And he received Hubert de Burgh, Gilbert Basset, and Richard Seward amongst his friends and intimate advisers, then at length understanding how he had been led astray by the craftiness of his former counsellors.

**Peter des Roches and his Accomplices fall into
Disgrace.**

Chron. Maj. (iii., p. 292).

In the same Parliament, Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, caused to be read before the king and all the assembly of Bishops and Earls and Barons who were present, a copy of the letters which had been sent by the counsellors of the king to the nobles of Ireland about the plot prepared against Earl Richard. Wherefore the king and all the others hearing it were struck with sadness, and moved even to tears. But the king confessed that in truth, being compelled by the Bishop of Winchester and Peter de Rievaulx and others of his advisers, he had ordered his seal to be affixed to certain letters which were brought to him; but he affirmed with an oath that he never heard their contents. In reply to this, the Archbishop said: "Examine thy conscience, O king,

for all they who caused these letters to be sent, and were conscious of the plot, are guilty of the death of the Marshal as though they had killed him with their own hands." Then the king, having held a council, summoned by letter the Bishop of Winchester, Peter de Rievaulx, Stephen de Segrave, and Robert Passelew, to come on the Feast of St John to give an account of the treasures they had received and expended. But he also commanded that they should come to answer about his seal, of which they had made evil use without any knowledge of his, and to submit themselves to justice. But they, being in their own hearts suspicious in every direction, were afraid on the one hand of the king, and on the other of their brethren and the friends of the Marshal, whose death they appeared to have caused. Wherefore, taking refuge in the peace of the Church, the Bishop and Peter de Rievaulx lay concealed in the Cathedral Church at Winchester, withdrawing themselves utterly from the sight of man. But Stephen de Segrave lay hid in the Church of St Mary, in the Abbey of the Canons, near Leicester;* and he who had first through arrogance quitted the clerical state for the army, now became a clerk once more, and wore again the shaven crown, which he had discontinued without consulting his Bishop. And Robert Passelew retired to an unknown hiding-place, so that they who sought him failed in their search. But many thought that he had gone to Rome, as he had often repaired to the court there when agent of his lord, Fulke. But in truth he lay hid, feigning illness, in a certain secret chamber at the New Temple, hiding after the fashion of a hare; neither when his hiding-place was known did he dare, even at the command of the king, to come out for

* The Monastery of St Mary des Prés.

long ; nor indeed did the others, as their consciences reproached them, finding ground for their suspicions in the thought that their enemies, who had burnt their houses and buildings, with their store-houses filled with produce, would not spare their own persons should they find an opportunity to do them injury.

Mediation of St Edmund.

Chron. Maj. (iii., p. 294).

At length Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was the mediator in this quarrel, begged of the king that under the safe conduct of himself and the Bishops, they might come before him on a certain day, to answer to the aforesaid accusations, so that all source of dissension in the kingdom might be laid to rest. The king accordingly appointed for them July 14, at Westminster, where they were brought into the royal presence under the protection of the Archbishop and Bishops. And Peter des Roches, being called first, appeared before the king in the habit of a clerk, with his crown shaven, but with a dagger hanging from his waist ; and he reverently saluted the king, who sat on the bench with his justiciars. And the king, gazing at him with an evil eye, said : " O traitor, by thy iniquitous design I unknowingly affixed my seal to the letters about the betrayal of the Earl Marshal. By thy evil counsel I banished him and other natural subjects of my kingdom, and I have turned away their minds and hearts from myself. By thy evil counsel and that of thy accomplices I have waged war against them, to my irreparable damage, to the reproach of the kingdom, through which war I have lamentably forfeited my treasures and the lives of many distinguished men, and my own honour."

The king, moreover, demanded of him an account of his treasure, and of the guardianship of the children of the nobles, and of the escheats, with such other rents as belong to the crown. And when the king accused him of these and many other things under the name of treason, he did not deny the crimes imputed to him, but falling on the ground before the king, he begged for mercy in these words: "Lord King (said he), I was nurtured by thee, and made rich in temporal goods; degrade not the man whom thou hast made. Give me time for deliberation, that I may be able to render thee an exact account of the things demanded." To whom the king said: "I will send thee to the Tower of London that thou mayest deliberate there until thou canst first satisfy me with an account." To this Peter said: "Sire, I am a clerk, and must not be imprisoned and kept under guard by laymen." The king answered: "Thou hast heretofore acted as a layman; from thee therefore I demand an account as from a layman to whom I have entrusted my treasures. But behold, the Archbishop is here, and if he is willing to become surety for thee, I will deliver thee to him, that he may satisfy me about the aforesaid demands." And when the Archbishop made no answer, the king sent the aforesaid Peter to the said Tower; taking with his own hands all his lay equipment, for underneath his clerk's habit he was clad in a breastplate, and he carried a dagger from his waist, which was not seemly for a clerk; indeed, many put a more sinister interpretation than may be either spoken or written. And then Peter began to weep bitterly as he entered the boat, which was to conduct him to the aforesaid Tower. And he was there on the Thursday and the following Friday; and then, being liberated by

the Archbishop, he was taken to Winchester and set free in the Cathedral.

And the same day Stephen de Segrave came into the king's presence, under the protection of the Archbishop and Bishops, to answer for those things whereof he was accused. And when he stood in the court to submit himself to justice, the king reproached him, calling him a most wicked traitor for all the counts about which he had reproached Peter des Roches, adding also that he had counselled him to remove Hubert de Burgh from the office of Justiciar, to put him in prison, and to hang him from a gibbet, and to send into exile the nobles of the realm. And when he had accused him of these and many other crimes, he demanded of him an account of his office of Justiciar, which he had administered under him after Hubert de Burgh, and of his receipts and expenditure. About this the Archbishop and Bishops begged for a truce from the king till the Feast of St Michael,* to allow time for deliberation. But with respect to the evil counsels imputed to him, he accused others in higher station than himself, that is, between himself and the king, and from these he ought to force an immediate reply, "Namely, Walter, Bishop of Carlisle and Peter de Rievaulx, not me." And thus making others serve as a shield of defence, he answered by retorting the crime on them. And thus Robert Passelew, who had filled the office of treasurer after Walter, Bishop of Carlisle, once more hid himself, and the place where he lay concealed from those seeking his life has hardly even yet been made manifest, though diligent inquiries have been made.

And the king, relying on a more prudent counsel, in

* September 29.

place of the above-named, appointed, though against his will, Hugh de Patteshull, a clerk, son of Simon de Patteshull, who at one time held the reins of Justiciar of the whole kingdom, a trustworthy and honourable man.

St Edmund's private Life as Archbishop.—His Austerities.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1805).

He diminished nothing of his austerity of life; he even increased its rigour in almost every respect, from



Remains of City Walls, Canterbury.

day to day, as a growing son.* He was ever hard and severe towards himself, patient and kind to others. For he was as an olive tree, fruitful in the house of the Lord, which, as he was wont to say, would retain the bitterness

* Gen. xlix. 22.

of its own root in itself, displaying bounty to others ; as one giving food to the hungry, light to those in darkness, and unction to the sick. He would frequently pass almost the entire night without sleep, striking his breast, and kneeling with his bare knees on the ground, so that his clerks, resting in the rooms underneath, were scarce able to slumber or sleep. Some indeed, wearied by this and his other austerities, retired from his service, inventing a pretext, and seeking to give up his friendship. For they abhorred the severity of such strict self-restraint, and the odour of life became to them an odour of death. In the service of the altar, he was ever dissolved in tears, so comporting himself as though he had put off his humanity, and was witnessing the Lord's passion take place in the flesh. He administered all the sacraments of the Church with the greatest reverence, so that his very administration of them moved the hearts of the beholders to devotion.

His great Charity.

St John's College MS. (Wallace, p. 609).

He was most devout in helping and most cheerful in giving, and whatever riches were handed to him to administer, he poured out with devotion, generosity, and affection among the weak members of Christ, so that the income of this very rich diocese was not sufficient for such generous gifts. He distributed all that he had to the multitude of the needy, and when he had no more to bestow, being unable to repress his compassionate feeling to those who besought him, he was forced to borrow money from the merchants in order to give to them. Thus he incurred many debts lest the poor should incur many, and he suffered want of the neces-

saries of life that he might not see the poor in need, whom he was wont to feed though he were hungry himself. But for the rest, it would take long to tell in detail of all the care which this great Bishop took of the churches under his jurisdiction; how he would visit them in person, not through the medium of any of



Westgate, Canterbury.

his officials; how he would strive to correct and reform them; how inflexible he was towards the great, how benign to the poor, and how just to all in the hearing of their suits; how swift to refute falsehood, how clear in pronouncing sentence, how careless in acquiring

temporal goods, how fervent in divine things; how silent in the hazards of fortune, how joyful in adversity, how modest in prosperity.

His Humility.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1804).

As humility held the first place in his heart, so it appeared at the head of all his works. For he was not



Mercery Lane, Canterbury.

ashamed sometimes to take off his own shoes, which in the Primate of all England was an evident and distinguished mark of humility. And when his clerks had not heard Mass, through being impeded by some pressing business, he would celebrate for them in person later in the

day. While he was on a journey, if any one, however poor, wished to confess his sins to him, he would at once dismount and hear the confession, and would be very affable and kind to the penitent afterwards. Nor would he put him off on account of some inclemency of the weather, or even because he was approaching an inn which might be not very far distant. He would act in similar manner when young people asked to be confirmed by him. In the abundance of his extreme humility, he would sometimes carry his cross with his own hands from the chapel to his room or study. Nor was he clothed in purple and fine linen, or with costly robes, as was customary with many Bishops, but he wore a white or grey tunic of a cheap material. Nevertheless, in order that his exterior might be as that of others, he had becoming outer garments, but not for the sake of vanity.

His Hatred of Idleness.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 557).

The blessed Edmund used to detest idleness and sloth, and was himself always occupied either in praying or meditating, or in the correcting of books, or in hearing confessions, or in solving questions put to him by his brethren, or in deciding suits which had arisen, lest the enemy of mankind should ever find him unbusied with good works and idle. And if any one reproved him for his unmeasured work, he would repeat with a smile the words of a certain wise man, "Now read, now pray, or toil in some sacred art; let the Bishop's hour be short, and his very labour light." But especially with a view to lengthening his prayers, he spent his nights, even in winter, after a very short interval of sleep, in



Canterbury Cathedral.

vigil on his knees, and in tears and meditations, until long past cock-crow. And then he began his regular daily exercises, which he styled his ordinary routine, as though it were but just becoming daylight and were now the dawn. We, on the other hand, drowsy and sleepy as we were, could hardly drag ourselves to join in even the end of his prayer when the time came for beginning Matins. And when he was interrupted by the occupation of the daily business which the episcopal office brought, it impeded indeed his wonted hour of devotion, but did not change his desire of prayer. For the time which was given him he never spent in idleness.

His Love of Peace.

Provincial Constitutions * (Wallace, p. 478).

A great necessity, beloved children, is placed upon us of keeping peace, inasmuch as God Himself is the Author and Lover of peace, who came to bring into peace one with another not only heavenly things, but also earthly; and as we cannot reach the everlasting peace without peace in things transitory, and peace of heart, we warn you, and strictly enjoin you, that so far as in you lies, having peace with all men, you should warn your parishioners, that in the unity of faith and bond of peace, they should be one body in Christ. Be diligent to reconcile enmities, should they arise in your parish; cement friendship, recall the quarrelsome from their strife, and so far as in you lies, suffer not the sun to go down upon the anger of your parishioners.

* These "Provincial Constitutions" were written and promulgated by St Edmund in the year 1236.

His Charity to poor Widows.*Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1806).*

What shall I say of his charity towards the poor and the afflicted? For he who was wont to bear such tender feelings towards them, now more than ever gave himself wholly to their service by works of charity. . . . Now there exists a custom in the land that at the death of the father of a family, his lord shall take the best animal he had, of whatever kind it may be, as a token of his dominion. And the widows of them that were deceased, knowing his compassionate mind, used to come to him to beg that in his mercy he would order the animal to be restored to them. To such he was wont to answer after this fashion: "My good woman, this is the law of the land, and custom demands that thy lord should receive the best animal which thy husband had when alive." Then turning to the others, he would say in Latin or French: "Truly, this law was invented by the devil, not by God. After the poor woman has lost her husband, that is taken away from her which is the best thing that her dying husband had to leave her." Then turning to the widow, who was craving for pity, he would address her in his mother tongue: "Woman, if I lend thee the animal, wilt thou care well for it on my behalf?" And when she answered, "My lord, it shall be cared for as though it were my own," he bade his bailiff forthwith to give back the animal to the widow.

He refuses all Gifts.*Cambridge MS., fol. 47a, col. 2.*

He refrained himself from touching all gifts, and had a great hatred against any one who accepted them, especially those in authority, who had to administer



The Choir, Canterbury Cathedral.

justice. To such he used to say that between *pendre* and *prendre*, there was only the difference of one letter, so that he who takes is not far from being hanged. And when gold and silver were offered him, he would say that the enemy was trying to tempt him now when rich, as he had failed to deceive him with gifts when poor, and by God's grace he would never be deceived by him after this manner, for it was by presents which were neither given nor accepted for God's sake that Christianity had been corrupted; and but for the mercy of God, it would have come to nought sooner than Christians were aware. And when a certain nobleman sent him a precious stone worth ten marks sterling, or more, and other jewellery of gold and silver, by the hand of a certain clerk, begging him to receive them as a gift, the holy man making answer, said, "I will not accept them." Then the clerk, in order to persuade him to accept them, said, "My lord, this stone is very valuable and precious." And the saint, repeating these words, added: "But to me, it is not more valuable than the stone which my horse treads under its foot." And in the same manner he refused the other jewellery. And the same nobleman, trying in another way to gain his favour, sent him two rich quilts to cover his bed, believing that as they were less costly, he would receive them. And he gave one of them to the brother of the said saint,* hoping in this way to induce the saint to accept the other. But when the other quilt was offered to him, and his brother asked him to accept it, he rebuked his brother, and made answer: "Thou mayest be persuaded, but I will not. For I have greater trust in my

* Robert Rich, or, as he was more commonly called, Robert of Abingdon, was probably by his brother's side throughout his life. During St Edmund's Archiepiscopate, his name occurs several times.

book than in thee." He forbade all his attendants to accept any gifts, especially those who undertook the office of visitation. Any who accepted them he treated as excommunicated, and made them give back what they had received.

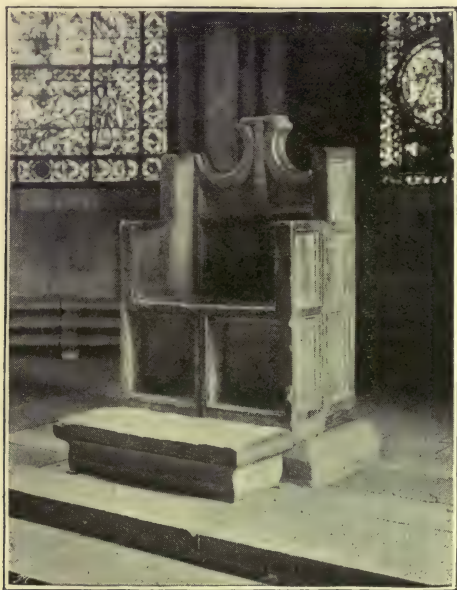
He appoints St Richard as his Chancellor.*

Life of St Richard (Bollandists, April, i., p. 287).

Now Richard, being in all respects planted in the garden of virtue, as in a place filled with perfume, as though the south wind was ever blowing, and the north wind had fled afar, his sweet fame began to be spread abroad on every side, till it came to the knowledge of Edmund, of holy memory, then Archbishop of Canterbury. Wishing, therefore, to honour his church by the bodily presence of so great and illustrious a man, and to adorn his house by so virtuous a life, he had him summoned, and appointing him as his secretary, committed to him the post of Chancellor of his court. Richard, therefore, began to increase daily in virtue, and without ostentation to exercise the office entrusted to him, striving in all things to give rest to his lord the Archbishop, who he knew had, like Mary, chosen and preferred the best part; and to consult in all things the convenience of the neighbours who came to the Archbishop's court for their different suits; while in every cause or business he restrained his hand from the acceptance of gifts, which are wont to produce blindness even in the wise. The Archbishop rejoiced that by his Chancellor's careful discretion

* St Richard was born in 1197, and was educated at Oxford and Paris, and afterwards studied and taught at Bologna. Whether he knew St Edmund first at Oxford or Paris is uncertain. He was at one time Chancellor of Oxford.

and discreet care he was delivered from the turmoil of external affairs ; the Chancellor rejoiced to be trained by the holiness and heavenly conversation of his lord. Each leant upon the other : the saint upon the saint ; the master upon his disciple ; the disciple upon his master ; the father on his son ; the son on his father ; so that to the spiritual



The Patriarchal Chair, Canterbury.

onlooker it was given to behold them as two cherubims of glory, guarding the ark of the Lord, that is, the Church of Canterbury, each gazing at the other with the eye of holy intention, and supporting each other with the two wings of mutual charity, the aspects of their wills being ever directed towards the seat of mercy, to Him, indeed, who is the propitiation for our sins. Nevertheless, the

two aforesaid cherubims were of pliable workmanship, being wrought and fashioned by the stroke of the hammer ; for either saint, Edmund namely, and Richard, one, the Archbishop, by his passion, the other, the disciple, by his compassion, and his like labour for the liberty of the Church and for justice, underwent numberless tribulations and troubles, suffered loss of property and obloquy, bodily exertions and fatigues, reproachful words and contumely ; and finally they became outlaws and exiles from their country, receiving the hard and fast blows of the hammer on the anvil of patience, even as the most precious substance of the gold, without sound or murmur.

Marriage of the King to Eleanor of Provence.

Chron. Maj. (iii., p. 334).

In the year of the Lord 1236, which is the twentieth year of King Henry III., the said king held his court during Christmas time at Winchester, where he kept with joy the Christmas festivities : but he was waiting with an ardent longing for the arrival of his messengers. For he had sent chosen messengers, men of discretion, to Provence, to Richard, Count of the said Provence, with letters containing the design of his heart, about contracting matrimony with his [the Count's] daughter Eleanor . . . Who, on coming to him in Provence, were received with the highest honour and reverence : and they received from his hands his daughter Eleanor, to be taken to the king of the English, to be joined in matrimony to him, under the escort, however, of Lord William, Bishop-elect of Valence, uncle of the said maiden, a celebrated and distinguished man, Count also of Champagne, and related by blood to the king

of England . . . Taking ship, therefore, at the port of Wissant, unfurling their sails, after a rapid passage, they arrived at the port of Dover before they were expected; and after a favourable landing, as they hastened towards Canterbury, the Lord King, coming up, ran into the very



Marriage of King Henry to Eleanor of Provence.
(From a drawing by Matthew Paris.)

arms of the messengers on their arrival. And having seen the maiden and accepted her, he was espoused at Canterbury, the solemn rite of espousal being performed by Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, together with the

bishops who had come over with the maiden, and other great men and nobles and prelates, on January 14. On the 19th of the same month, the Lord King came to Westminster, and on the morrow, that is the Sunday, with incomparable and unheard of solemnity, she received the crown and was proclaimed as Queen Eleanor. Thus she was espoused to Henry III. at Canterbury, but the nuptials were celebrated in London, at Westminster, on the Feast of Saints Fabian and Sebastian.*

The Festivities in London.

Ibid.

Now there came together at the nuptial banquet so great a multitude of nobles of both sexes, such a number of religious, such a concourse of people, such a variety of actors as the city of London was scarce able to contain within its capacious bosom. The whole city was adorned with flags and banners, with wreaths and hangings, with candles and lamps, and with other wonders and marvels, the streets having been cleaned of dirt, mud and weeds, and purified from all that was offensive. . . .

And the Archbishop of Canterbury, according to the right which specially belonged to him, happily completed the office of the Coronation, assisted by the Bishop of London as Dean, and the other Bishops placed according to their rank, and in like manner also all the Abbots, in the fore-front being rightly placed the Abbot of St Albans. . . .

The entire solemnity was resplendent, arranged in praiseworthy fashion by the clergy and knights. The Abbot of Westminster sprinkled the holy water; the

* January 20.

Treasurer, taking the part of Sub-deacon, carried the paten. Why should I enumerate the list of those who fittingly ministered? Why describe the superabundant dishes and divers drinks at table, the abundance of venison, the different kinds of fish, the sport of the jesters, the comeliness of the waiters? Whatever the world can provide of enjoyment and splendour was eminently displayed there.

The Statutes of Merton.

Hist. Ang. (ii., p. 386).

When the nuptial rejoicings were over, the king left London and came to Merton, in order to discuss the affairs of the realm with the nobles, whom he recalled thither . . . And in those same days, Henry III., being led by the spirit of justice and piety, enacted certain new laws for the sake of the salvation of his soul and the reform of his kingdom, and in order that the Lord might grant him a happy offspring; and he ordered them to be strictly kept throughout his kingdom.

The King demands Money and renews the Liberties of Magna Charta.

Hist. Ang. (ii., p. 393).

In the year 1237, which is the twenty-first of the reign of King Henry III., the said king held his court during Christmastide at Winchester. And he sent forthwith throughout the whole country of England letters royal commanding all those who belonged to the kingdom of England, that is, the Archbishop, Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, and the Earls and Barons, that all without exception should assemble in London on the octave of the Epiphany, in order to discuss the affairs and diffi-

culties of the king. There came, therefore, to London, on the Feast of St Hilary,* an immense multitude of nobles—in fact, all those in the kingdom. Then William de Raleigh, the king's clerk and special counsellor, declared to them the king's commands in these words: "The Lord King announces to you that whatever he has hitherto done, from henceforth he will be ruled by the counsel of all of you. However, owing to the marriage of his sister the Empress, and his own marriage, carried out with lavish expenditure, he is now entirely without money. He demands, therefore, pecuniary aid from you, in such manner that this money collected according to your pleasure, shall be kept for expenditure on purposes necessary for the kingdom, as shall be arranged by some of you chosen for this purpose." And when they received this unwelcome message, most of them began to murmur. Which when the king understood, wishing to quiet the murmuring, he promised on oath that he would never again trouble the nobles of the realm with such a demand, if only on this present occasion a thirtieth part of the chattels of England should be paid to him by a willing grant. And as there was much discussion among the nobles, the parliament was protracted by a delay of four days. The king, therefore, being anxious to gain the favour of his nobles, with a cheerful countenance, spontaneously promised henceforth to strictly observe the liberties of Magna Charta. And whereas he appeared to be not wholly exempt from the censure which Archbishop Stephen [Langton], with all the Bishops of England, had inflicted against every one who should

* The feast of St Hilary was kept on January 13. In the Roman calendar the octave of the Epiphany takes precedence, and St Hilary is transferred to the next day.

violate the aforesaid Charter, which the king, trusting to evil counsel, had in part broken, he had the former sentence publicly renewed against all who should violate or go against the Charter, so that if perchance, through any bitterness of spirit, he should fail to observe it, he would fall under the sentence of excommunication *ipso facto*. Hence it came to pass that by these words he won the hearts of all towards what he willed.

Solemn Ratification of the King's Promise in Westminster Abbey.

Chron. Maj. (v., p. 360).

And the said king, with his right hand upon the holy Gospels, and in his left holding a lighted taper, swore an oath dictated by Archbishop [Edmund], that without any cavil he would henceforth observe inviolably the whole of the Charter which he had granted to his faithful subjects, and would not allow himself to be hampered by the wonted sophistry of murmurers. In like manner, many Bishops who were also present, holding tapers in their hands, together with the said Archbishop, excommunicated all who should violate or put an evil interpretation on the said Charter. And at the end, when he had promulgated the sentence, according to custom, all, including the king himself, repeated the words, "So be it, so be it!" And when the candles, being extinguished and cast down, were smouldering and giving forth an evil stench to the nostrils of those standing around, and were loathsome to their sight, the Archbishop said, "Even so may their reprobate souls all perish, and give forth smoke and stench, who shall either violate this Charter, or put an evil interpretation thereon." And all shouted assent, but the king most

frequently and eagerly, in the words, "Amen, Amen." And these things took place in the Chapel of St Catharine, at Westminster.

Arrival of the Papal Legate.

[The next step which the king took was apparently due to the victory which had been won by St Edmund and the nobles. After his marriage King Henry had once more fallen into the hands of foreign advisers, who came over in the train of the new queen ; and in order to cope with the Archbishop, he determined to get some one on his side with equal or greater powers ; so he petitioned the Pope to send a Legate to England. And as the Pope depended on the pecuniary and other aid he received from England in the difficulties in which he was then placed, he was anxious to do all he could to meet the wishes of the king.]

Chron. Maj. (iii., p. 395).

In the same year [1237], about the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, the Lord Otho, Cardinal Deacon of St Nicholas, in the Tullian Prison, came at the summons of the king, as Legate to England, without the knowledge of the great men of the realm. Whence many felt great indignation against the king, saying : " The king breaks everything, the laws, his good faith, all his promises. For at one time he unites himself in marriage without the advice of his friends and natural subjects ; at another, he secretly calls over a Legate, to disturb the whole kingdom. First he gives away what is his, then he wants to recall what was given." And thus from day to day, according to the words of the Gospel, the kingdom becoming divided against itself, and squandered away, was rendered desolate. It is said indeed that Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, rebuked the king for acting in this manner, especially with respect to the summoning of the Legate ; for he knew that a great misfortune threatened the realm, to the prejudice

of his own dignity. But the king, rejecting his advice, and that of the others, his own subjects, would by no means revoke the purpose which he had formed in his own mind. The said Legate came accordingly, with great state and great power. And the Bishops and leading clergy came to meet him on landing; and some went out in boats, welcoming him, and offering him priceless gifts. . . . And when he arrived, he would not receive all the gifts, but only some; those, however, which he did not receive, he ordered to be kept for him. All the benefices which were vacant he distributed among those whom he had brought with him, worthy or unworthy. The king came to the seashore, and bowing his head as low as his knee, conducted him in state to the interior of the realm. And the Bishops with the Abbots and other superiors of the churches, coming up, received him with all honour and reverence, with processions and pealing of bells, and with precious gifts, up to and beyond what was fitting.

Prudent Behaviour of the Legate.

Chron. Maj. (iii., p. 403).

The Lord Otho, the Legate, of whom mention has been made above, comporting himself with prudence and modesty, refused in great part the most costly of the gifts offered to him, contrary to the custom of the Romans. Thus by his bearing, against the expectation of many, he moderated the indignation conceived throughout the kingdom, both by the clergy and knights.

Chron. Maj. (iii., p. 412).

In the meantime, valuable gifts were offered to the Legate; both splendid horses, and costly vessels, and

soft and flowing garments, and different skins of wild animals, and coins, and eatables and drinkables. Thus one Bishop alone, namely Peter of Winchester, as soon as it was known that the Legate would spend the winter in London, sent for his sustenance fifty grazing bullocks, and one hundred measures of choice wheat, and eight jars of the purest wine. Others gave him similar presents according to their power and means. But the Legate, moderating his Roman ambition, accepted not indeed all of these, but some of them, gratefully and with a benign countenance, calling to mind the philosophical saying of Seneca: "To accept whatever is offered, would be avarice; to accept nothing, would be rudeness; to accept some, is kindness.

The Legate summons a Council.

Chron. Maj. (iii., p. 404).

And the Lord Legate wrote to all the Prelates of England that they should come together to London, to the Church of St Paul, on the octave of St Martin,* to hear in public the credentials given him by the Lord Pope, conferring on him the plenary legatine power, and to discuss together matters concerning the reformation of the English Church, and to hold a council in his presence. . . . As the time for the council approached, the Legate ordered to be prepared for him, at the western end of St Paul's Church at London, a very high and stately throne, raised on beams and rows of seats. He then sent his letters to all the Prelates of England, namely the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, those bearing procuratorial letters, whether in their own names

* November 18.

or in those of their convent or chapter, that whatever the Legate should decree in the council should be held everywhere as valid. They all came, therefore, according to the command of the Lord Legate, though much harassed and fatigued, both themselves and their horses, by their journey, owing to the approach of winter and the storminess of the season.

The Council of London.

Chron. Maj. (iii., p. 416).

When therefore the Bishops of England had come to London, to the Church of St Paul, on the first day appointed for the council, namely the day after the octave of St Martin, the Legate did not appear, as the Bishops had asked him that they might have an opportunity of examining the proposed statutes, and of discussing them among themselves, lest he should attempt to enact anything to their own prejudice. The next day, about two hundred armed soldiers and servants, whom, at his request, the king had lent him, were posted in secret and retired places; for he feared much for his own safety, since it was said that he wished to press harsh measures against pluralists, and still more against those who being illegitimate were holding benefices. And he arrived in the aforesaid church very early in the morning, even at dawn; but there were already assembled there such a closely-packed multitude of men awaiting him that it was with great difficulty that he entered. And arriving inside the church, he put on his pontificals in front of the high altar, namely, his surplice, and over it his choir *cappa*, with fur covering of variegated skins, and his mitre. And the Archbishops of Canterbury and York walking in front, a solemn procession was formed,

with cross and lighted tapers, while the litanies were sung; and in this manner he ascended his throne, which had been made ready as has been described, and which was now even more splendid, being covered with tapestry and hangings. The Archbishop of Canterbury placed himself on his right, and he of York on his left. On



Council of London. (From a drawing by Matthew Paris.)

this matter a dispute arose between them, namely, about the order in which they should sit. The Archbishop of York appealed on behalf of the right which he claimed. When, therefore, according to the custom, the Gospel had been read, and the proper collects had been said by the Legate himself, and the *Veni Creator Spiritus* had been sung, after the appeal of the Archbishop of

York had been made, as stated, the two Archbishops sat on either side of the Legate, Canterbury on the right, and York on the left. And the Legate, wishing to settle the controversy without abstracting from the dignity of either, said to them: "In the Bull of the Lord Pope, the figure of Paul stands on the right, that of the Cross in the middle, and that of Peter on the left. But no strife ever arose between such great saints, for both are equal in glory. Nevertheless, on account of Peter's power of the keys, and because he was prince of the apostles, and also because of the dignity of his see, together with the priority of his vocation, it would have seemed fitting that his figure should be placed on the right of the Cross. But as Paul believed in Christ when he saw not, he is placed on the right, for 'Blessed are they that see not and believe.' Thus the Lord of Canterbury, Primate of all England, who is set over the most ancient and most noble Church of Canterbury, and also over that of London, which is St Paul's, is not without reason to be placed on the right." And from thenceforward, on the following days, the Archbishop of Canterbury sat on the right hand and the Archbishop of York on the left.

And on the second day after the council had begun, there were sent on behalf of the Lord King, John, Earl of Lincoln; John, son of Geoffrey; and William de Raleigh, a Canon of St Paul's, to inhibit the said Legate, on behalf of the king and his realm, from venturing to enact anything against the royal crown and dignity. And William de Raleigh stayed there, vested in his Canon's *cappa* and surplice, to see that this was observed; but the others departed. The same day, also, Simon [Langton], Lord Archdeacon of Canterbury, in the hearing of all, begged of the Lord Legate that they might

hear the credentials of his office which had been delivered to him by the Pope ; and this was done.

And the same day, at the request of the Lord King, a charter was read about observing the Feast of St Edward throughout all England ; and by command of the Lord Pope, one about the canonisation of St Francis and St Dominic. And as the Legate heard while still in his house that many pluralists, some of them of noble blood and great possessions, and some illegitimate, of whom he had made mention in a certain statute of the council, had spoken against him and had even made ready snares for his person, he took with him, both going to and returning from the council, some of the great men of the realm, namely, Gilbert, Earl Marshal ; John, Earl of Lincoln ; and Earl Simon de Montfort, and some of the household of the king, armed with swords and clubs, in order to protect himself and his men.

But in the council, when the statute was brought forward, against those who, in opposition to the Lateran Council, held several benefices, the Bishop of Worcester, Walter de Cantelupe, rising in the midst and putting off his mitre, addressed the Legate thus :—

“ Holy Father, since many nobles related to us by blood have obtained several benefices, for which no dispensation has yet been obtained, of whom some are of advanced age, and up to the present time have lived honourably, and by giving hospitality to the utmost of their power have distributed alms with open doors, it is very hard that such men should be deprived of their benefices and thrown into ignominious poverty. Some of them, however, are young, and would strenuously face the greatest dangers rather than allow themselves to be despoiled of their benefices and retain one only. For I

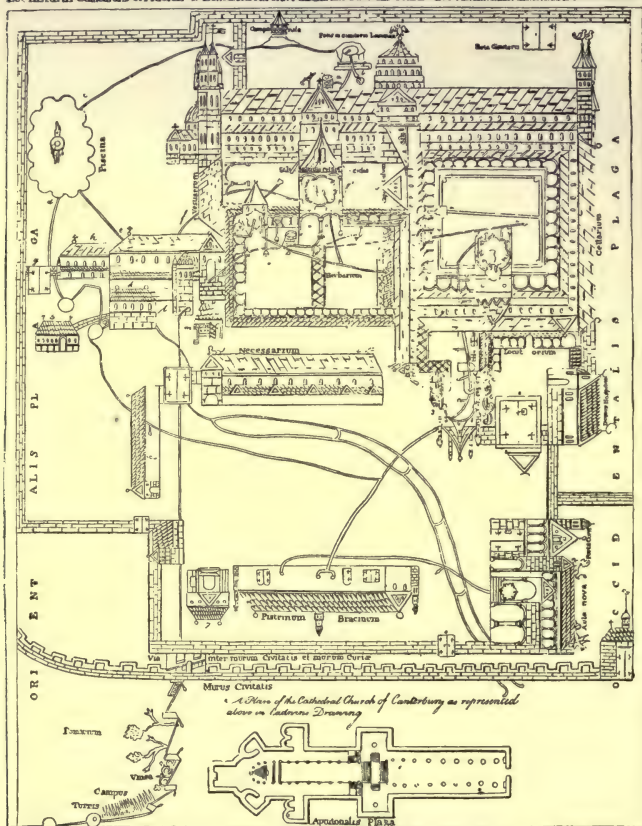
judge by my own case. Before I was called to my present dignity, I had made up my mind that were I to lose a single benefice under the pretext of this law, I would part with them all. Whence it is to be feared that many still retain this frame of mind.

“ Since, therefore, there are many such involved in this case, we beg of your fatherly care, that for the sake of your own safety and ours, you should consult the Lord Pope about a statute of this kind. Moreover, since your statute would equally extend to all in the Order of St Benedict, and would be hard for many of these to observe this statute, on account of the poverty of the localities, and especially for nuns, as they are weak and frail, it is necessary to moderate this rigour with discretion. About which also we beg that you will be willing to consult the Lord Pope.” To whom the Lord Legate answered, that if all the Bishops, that is, the Archbishops and Bishops then present, would write together with him to the Pope, he would willingly agree.

Nor should we omit to mention that on the first day of the council, while the Archbishop of Canterbury was placed on his right, and the Archbishop of York on his left, as already described, after the Gospel *Ego sum pastor bonus* had been read, and the collects belonging thereto had been said, the Lord Legate, calling for silence, while the crowd pressing forward was held in check, seated himself, and raising his voice like a trumpet, began his speech by introducing his subject: *In medio sedis et in circuitu ejus quatuor animalia plena oculis ante et retro*.^{*} As he proceeded with his speech, he intimated that the Bishops, like those animals which had eyes in front and behind,

* “ In the midst of the throne and round about them were four living creatures full of eyes, before and behind ” (Apoc. iv. 6).

should look in advance in the arrangement of worldly matters, and be circumspect in spiritual matters, proceeding with caution from the beginning to what follows. And after his speech, he caused to be read distinctly, and in a loud voice, the statutes, which he said should be strictly observed.



- a. Purgatorium celatum.
 b. Purgatorium fons.
 c. Via influens parvorum de fonte conuulsis exterritis
 d. De piscina in fontem priorem
 e. Aqua huc est in parvorum de eadem ala
 f. Antea in aliam domum inferorum
 g. Porta conuulsis iuxta capellam
 h. Capella inferorum et domus inferorum
 i. Via parvorum inferorum et equorum inferorum
 m. Cameræ parvorum vici
 n. Purgatorium
 o. Via que ducit ad domum inferorum
 p. Piscina et Purgatorium
 q. Columna in qua duoque defuncti petres habuerunt a qua
 de porta et administratio est sub officina

1. Vestibulum locutorum et sinistræ foras
 2. Vestibulum ante haurium locutorum ad quod confluit aqua pluvialis
 3. Vestibulum ante haurium locutorum ad quod confluit aqua pluvialis
 4. Vestibulum ante haurium locutorum ad quod confluit aqua pluvialis
 5. Vestibulum ante haurium locutorum ad quod confluit aqua pluvialis
 6. Vestibulum ante haurium locutorum ad quod confluit aqua pluvialis
 7. Vestibulum ante haurium locutorum ad quod confluit aqua pluvialis
 8. Vestibulum ante haurium locutorum ad quod confluit aqua pluvialis
 9. Vestibulum ante haurium locutorum ad quod confluit aqua pluvialis
 10. Vestibulum ante haurium locutorum ad quod confluit aqua pluvialis

Plan of Christchurch Cathedral and Monastery, Canterbury.

(From Eadwine's Psalter.)

CHAPTER VI

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (*continued*)

The Dispute with the Canterbury Monks.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 565).

BUT the avowed enemy of the human race, seeing of what great service so great a man would be to the Church of God, was filled with envy, and lest St Edmund should continue to enjoy peace with the king, as he had been accustomed, he chose out great men who should incite to discord, through whom he sowed the detestable seed of hatred in the hearts of the king and courtiers. Moreover, the monks of Canterbury,* over whom, as being of the bosom of his church, he was more especially placed, while zealous for justice, though not according to knowledge, were continually crying out for certain of their liberties, which, as they said, specially belonged to the Convent, and which the Archbishop's agents had invaded. And when the Archbishop, being their head and their father,†

* *i.e.*, the Cathedral Monastery of Christchurch. There was also another Benedictine Abbey, St Augustine's, at Canterbury. See Notes on the Illustrations.

† The Archbishop of Canterbury was *ex officio* Abbot of the Christchurch Monastery, although in many cases, as in the present one, he was not himself a Benedictine. In such communities, however, the Cathedral Prior stands in many ways practically in the same relation to the other monks as an ordinary Abbot.

contended that they belonged to him, and that this should rightly be established by an investigation of his own rights, the monks withstood him to the face, making constant appeals, lest he should endeavour to do aught that was new, to their prejudice, and in opposition to the approved customs of that ancient church. For many of them believed confidently and undoubtingly that



The Treasury, Canterbury Cathedral.

these liberties specially belonged to them, about which they were able to show charters and written privileges. And one of these had been obtained, they said, by the diligence of Blessed Thomas the Martyr ; but it had been suspected, and it seemed with truth, that it had been in an unseemly manner tampered with, and therefore by the advice of some of the brethren, it had been burnt. Hence no small dissension arose in the convent.



Ruins of Christchurch Monastery, Canterbury.

The Legate attempts Mediation.*Ibid.*

But about that time, Cardinal Otho, who was then in England as Legate to the Roman See, came to Canterbury, in order to calm the harmful and infamous commotion and discord which led to such disorder ; for the scandal which had arisen over this matter was becoming talked of throughout the whole land, and had gone forth as an evil odour. And entering the chapter of the monks, after making a careful inquiry, he said : " Brethren, fathers, venerable monks of this most noble metropolitan church, than which there is none greater in England, nor even so great, your case is weak, nor are you all of one mind. Humble yourselves under the strong hand ; let the members obey their head. Obey your pastor and father, the most holy Archbishop, and before further scandal arise, which might brand your name with an indelible mark, let this pestilence be buried away." When he spoke thus, part of the convent yielded a willing assent, and when the Archbishop returned after not many days, he understood straightway that a dissension had arisen, and that they did not all think alike. Some wished to humble them-



Norman Staircase, Canterbury Cathedral.

selves and submit, others believing that in addition to this a great injury was threatened, loudly cried out against him. On account of which disagreement, the Lord's flock was scattered, and many, in order to spend the rest of their days in peace, choosing the Carthusian or some other order, left Canterbury never to return.

The Archbishop offers a Compromise.

Ibid.

Some of the leaders of the monks, on the other hand, rose up, and together with their friends in the world, reproached the Archbishop, not only for being a disturber of the peace of his own church and convent, but also for making an open attack thereon, and for seeming most ungrateful to those who, against the wish of the king and many others, had set aside those most nobly born, and raised him from his lowly place to the height of such dignity. The Archbishop, being in no small measure grieved at the dispute with his church and convent, heaving deep sighs, felt bitterness of spirit. One day, therefore, in order that he might avert the scandal which was threatening, he entered the chapter in all humility, in order to check the commotion with a barrier of reasoning and moderation, lest he should appear ungrateful for the benefits conferred on him by the monks; for he feared greatly lest any sign of ingratitude could be even plausibly urged against him. He therefore gave way so far to their wishes that it might be possible to avoid any lawsuit, and that peace might be both honourably and joyfully restored, which each and all of the monks gladly agreed to, returning thanks to God and to the Archbishop. And in order that he might confirm with apostolic authority the conditions of the said peace, and



St Augustine's Abbey Gateway, Canterbury.

also that he might settle a certain other controversy between his church and the Cathedral Church of London, set on foot in the time of Roger* of pious memory; and that he might obtain decisions about other difficult matters relating to his church and his office, the Archbishop† announced that he was going to Rome.

He leaves England against the Wishes of the Legate.

Hist. Ang. (ii., p. 402).

When the Legate heard of his intention, before he embarked on board the ship, he strictly forbade him to cross the sea, fearing lest he should vehemently accuse him before the Pope and his brethren‡ of great extravagance, and should say that he was anxious to serve the king alone rather than God. But the Archbishop, hearing and being informed that he had been recalled by the Lord Pope, and that the messengers of the king, who had been sent to demand an extension of his stay, had not yet returned, answered that he was not willing to remain at his bidding, for it was on account of him and his tyranny that he was going away; and that the Legate could no longer claim obedience, as his faculties had expired.

He arrives in Rome.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 567).

And having arranged all necessary matters, he crossed the Alps as quickly as possible. And lo! on arriving in Rome, on the very first day, he found that some of the

* Roger le Noir outlived St Edmund, but was dead when the *Cotton MS.* was written. He died September 29, 1241.

† One of these related to a long-standing dispute with St Augustine's Abbey, which was finally settled at this time.

‡ *i.e.*, the Cardinals,

monks of Canterbury, relying on the deceitful promises of their own lawyers, had hurriedly, and with unseemly haste, anticipated him there, and most unexpectedly, and to the great astonishment of the Archbishop himself and his friends, they steadfastly appealed against the above-mentioned terms of peace, which the Archbishop had intended happily to confirm. And when in utter bewilderment the Archbishop asserted that this would result in an affront to himself, an injustice to his church, and a scandal, the lawyers, who were only thinking of their gains and their fees, urged the monks to withstand the Archbishop to his face. To whom the Archbishop, denouncing the folly of the monks, replied: "There is no peace for the wicked, saith the Lord." What more need be said? At length, as the monks continued obstinate, and were not willing to go back at all from the advice of their hired lawyers, the Archbishop pronounced sentence of excommunication against all disturbers of the peace. And ever after this, the enmity which had been established between the Archbishop and his adversaries increased daily.

The Monks make Accusations against him.

Fell. MS. (Wallace, p. 622).

And in the presence of the Sovereign Pontiff, some of his own monks, sent on behalf of the chapter, whom he believed to have come as had been agreed, to make peace, without any warning lodged grievous accusations against himself. But they were in no wise listened to, but being expelled with disgrace, and utterly rejected by God and His Vicar, with the advice of his brethren, they retired with great confusion.

Archdeacon Simon Langton accuses the Monks.*Gervase Chron.** (ii., p. 132).

And when many things had been argued on both sides before the Pope, the Archdeacon Achitophel,† whom we have before named, in presence of the Pope gave vent to the venom which he had conceived secretly in his heart, breaking forth into words of this kind: "Holy Father (said he), there is no forgery which is not committed in the Church of Canterbury. They have forged in gold, in lead, in wax, and in every metal." Hearing this, the Proctors of the Convent produced in the midst a letter of the Lord Legate, excusing them. Now the contentions of the Archbishop against the Convent were these: first, that he might set up a prebendal church; then, that he might consecrate Bishops elsewhere than at Canterbury whenever there was grave reason for so doing;‡ and, lastly, that he might dismiss the monks and institute Canons.§ He

* In reading the extracts from the *Gervase Chronicle*, it must be borne in mind that it is written by the Archbishop's avowed enemies, and throughout in a bitter partisan spirit.

† Simon Langton.

‡ From the first this seems to have been one of the chief bones of contention between St Edmund and the monks. They claimed the right that all consecrations should take place in their church, and as a general principle, St Edmund seems to have admitted this. Yet he steadfastly refused to consecrate Bishop Grosseteste at Canterbury in 1235, and afterwards on other occasions, even before his dispute with the monks had assumed its acute stage, he acted similarly. We have no definite information as to his reasons for insisting so strongly. And even Bishop Grosseteste appears from his letters not to have fully understood them.

§ The proposed prebendal church was sanctioned at Rome, and actually begun on a site at Maidstone, now occupied by All Saints' Church. There were to be forty Canons, and the Christchurch community felt apprehensive lest they were meant eventually to supplant

begged for a letter to the Legate, of which the sense was as follows :—

“Gregory, Bishop, etc., to Otho, Cardinal Deacon, Legate of the Holy See, Greeting. By this apostolical letter, we command thy discretion that thou shouldst go to Canterbury, and carefully inspect all the documents of the monks; and when there are duplicates, thou shouldst give one to the Archbishop and the other to the monks. If thou shalt find any to be forged, or suspected of forgery, thou shalt send them to us under thy seal, in order that we may determine and arrange about them as by the help of God we shall see fit.”

Further Opposition to St Edmund.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 567).

But besides these, who seemed to be the children of his own church, there were arraigned against the Archbishop, Roger, Bishop of London; the Convent of Rochester; Hugh, Earl of Arundel; Hubert, Justiciar of England; and Simon, Earl of Leicester, who all raised grave and difficult questions. Their attacks, which they seemed to support, indeed, with some reason, the Archbishop withstood with trouble and with no small expense. And as well as these, who may be called his greater opponents, lesser ones also lifted their feet against him. Finally, having had a private conference with the Lord Pope on these matters, he was referred back to the themselves as the diocesan chapter. They obtained a brief from Rome to the effect that their rights should not suffer by the new foundation, but even this was not enough for them; and eventually, in 1239, by appealing to the king, they had the work stopped. See Wallace, chap. xxii.

judges in England, to report what the law prescribed on these questions, as aforesaid.

Incidents in Rome.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1808).

During his stay in Rome, a memorable event occurred which we have thought well not to pass over in silence. On the Feast of St Gregory the Pope,* Pope Gregory invited all the Prelates who were at the Apostolic court to the feast of charity. And when all others went, he alone, as though warned by the spirit, and against the advice of some of his friends, did not go to the place where the others assembled to feast. Now it happened that the nephew of the Lord Cardinal of Praeneste was killed by the hand of assassins before the eyes of the Pope and all the others; on hearing which, St Edmund returned thanks to God from the bottom of his heart that He had not permitted him to be present at so dreadful a death. All marvelled that while all the other Prelates were present, he alone was absent; and it was the universal opinion that it had so turned out by the providence of God so that his gaze should not be profaned.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 558).

One evening, while he was at Rome, as he prolonged his prayer until late, he was summoned to the presence of the Lord Pope after Compline, and, only after having been reproached for his hesitation and delay, he went to him. And as they conversed together, quoting the verse of Samuel, when he was called from the dead and was angered thereat, he said to the Lord

* March 12.

Pope, "O holy Father, why hast thou disturbed me at such an hour?" And when he had explained in detail to those who asked the meaning of what he said, the Pope said in jest and with a smiling face, "Thou wouldst make a good monk!" But he answered, "Would that I could be delivered from these snares and become a good monk! Oh how happy and peaceful is the state of a monk!"

St Edmund returns to England.—Visitation of Christchurch Monastery by the Legate.

Gervase Chron. (ii., p. 132).

And the Archbishop returning from the papal court, came to Canterbury, and was received with honour by the Convent. And after the lapse of a few days, the Archbishop and the Legate came to Canterbury in order to follow out the apostolic command. Having inspected and carefully examined the written privileges, he found no flaw therein. But the Archbishop complained about the charter of Alexander, which he said he had entrusted to the Prior, John of Sittingbourne, of happy memory, which had not been shown to the Legate. When the Convent hesitated about this, Bartholomew of Sandwich said that he had burnt it with his own hands, and he confessed this before the Legate. Afterwards, the Legate came into the chapter, and, in presence of the whole Convent, propounded many things, saying that he had come especially to make peace again between the Archbishop and the Convent, but that his purpose being frustrated, he wished now to complete his own business. He accordingly commanded the Prior, and Simon of Herlepe and

Bartholomew of Sandwich, to appear before him in London, in order to receive condign punishment for their offences.

And as soon as the Legate and Archbishop had retired, the Convent held a careful discussion on these and other matters. But the Archbishop, learning that the Sub-Prior, R. of Westgate, was about to start for Rome, deposed him by his own letters. The Sub-Prior, however, appealing according to his station, set out for Rome, together with R. Digun and William of Dover.

The Monks appear before the Legate.

Ibid.

And the Prior and Brothers Simon and Bartholomew, having asked permission, attended on the day appointed for them. And after they were brought into the presence of the Legate, the Prior, without consulting any one, falling at the feet of the Legate, broke into these words: "Holy father (said he), I resign my priorship into thy hands." And the Legate said, "We accept thy resignation." And thus having received his blessing, he with great haste took refuge under the Carthusian habit. But Simon came to Canterbury, and in chapter asked permission to retire into a more strict order; and having obtained leave, he departed. And Bartholomew, having been severely reprimanded for the burning of the charter, received in the end this sentence: "Brother, thou hast done wrong, and almost incurred the crime of high treason, for thou hast burnt a Bull of our Lord the Pope; whence thou shalt live for a time in the Monastery of Westminster, until we can determine, after due deliberation, what justice demands to be done to thee;" and thus in the aforesaid monastery

he awaited for a long time the good pleasure of the Legate.

In the meantime, the Legate sent his clerk to Canterbury, who made a careful inquiry about the burning of the said charter. And the Archbishop having been frequently asked by the Convent, both by letter and by word of mouth, to come to Canterbury to preside over the election of a new Prior in due order, on the Wednesday next before the Feast of St Edmund he entered the chapter with men of a different religious order, and many seculars. And at first he spoke words of peace, and as it were an exhortation. Then he quickly broke forth into these words: "When (said he) we were staying with the Legate in the city of London, a report came to our ears that your Sub-Prior was about to set out for Rome. For this cause by our letters we deposed him from the office of Sub-Prior; but as we hear that you were displeased at this, we now, being installed in your chapter, confirm while present what we did when absent; and while releasing him, we command you in virtue of holy obedience that you should no longer consider him as your Sub-Prior." On hearing this, the monks of Canterbury, being both alarmed and enraged, each and all rose up, and protesting that this was in opposition to their rights and privileges and the dignities of their church, leaving the Archbishop with his clerks in chapter, forthwith went out, and coming to the church, solemnly celebrated the Mass of Blessed Mary. And the Archbishop warned the Convent a third time that they would have to make satisfaction for their disobedience and irreverence and contempt towards himself and his. And on the following Thursday, he had a letter placed on the high altar, in which he suspended the Church of Canterbury from ringing of bells, and ourselves from

celebrating Mass. But the Convent, holding the suspension to be of no validity, neither ceased from ringing their bells nor from saying Mass. For they felt safe under the appeal already rightly instituted.*

Election of a Prior.†

Gervase Chron. (ii., p. 146).

On the day after the Epiphany, at the proper hour, there assembled in the chapter-house those whose duty it was, and who were able and willing to do so, everything being observed which is prescribed for a canonical election. The constitution of the General Council having been read before them, and the grace of the Holy Spirit having been invoked, by the common consent of the brethren, five of their number were deputed to act for them all in the election of a Prior, letters patent of the chapter having been drawn up for this purpose, and delivered to them. Who, having held a careful conference about these things, and having invoked the grace of the Holy Spirit, retiring to the chapter-room, gave their decision in this form: . . . "By the authority of the commission and power given to us, having implored the grace of the Holy Spirit, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, we choose for your Prior Brother Roger de la Lee, a man of prudence and discretion." To this election all, including the elect, gave their assent, and thus all entered the church together with the elect, without hymn or peal of bells, and declared the election publicly among the people assembled there.

* *i.e.*, their appeal to Rome.

† According to Canon Law, if the Convent failed to elect within six months of the vacancy, their powers would lapse to the Archbishop. This seems to have been the reason why they took the extreme step of holding the election without the Archbishop.

St Edmund Excommunicates the Electors.*Gervase Chron.* (ii., p. 148).

When this election was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury by our beloved brethren Alexander and Robert, the said Archbishop answered that this was a novel kind of election, and that he must take careful advice; and he gave no other answer, nor could he fix any definite day therefor; and thus they retired from his palace.*

[A week later St Edmund had apparently decided on his course of action, and the following letter was placed by his penitentiary on the high altar of the cathedral]:—

Gervase Chron. (ii., p. 151).

“Edmund, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England, to the Convent, the spirit of more prudent counsel. Since, in opposition to the customs of the Church of Canterbury established from ancient times, and to the grave prejudice of our own dignity and that of our successors, by your own authority you have *de facto* chosen Roger de la Lee for your Prior, as is more fully contained in your letters patent addressed to us; and whereas, having been thrice warned by us, you have not been willing to recall your error, nor to make satisfaction to us for your offence, we now inflict on all and each of the electors the sentence of excommunication. But thee, Roger de la Lee, we command in virtue of strict obedience, that before the Feast of Saints Fabian and Sebastian,† by thyself or through another, thou shalt declare to us whether thou hast consented and consentest

* The Archbishop was staying at his manor at Hadlow, near Tunbridge. There were in all some twenty-five archiepiscopal manors, besides the palace at Canterbury. A list is given by Dom Wallace (p. 287).

† January 20.

to the aforesaid election. Given at Hadlow on 15th January, in the fifth year of our episcopate."

On the Feast of St Vincent,* therefore, the priests having been called together, by the authority of the official of the Lord Archbishop, letters of the same official were sent by his servant to J. and R., rectors of the Churches of St Michael and St Mary Magdalen. In these he ordered them with a strict command to notify to all the priests subject to them, that every Sunday and feast day they should publicly, in their churches, with ringing of bells and lighted candles, denounce as excommunicated by the Lord Archbishop each and every monk of Christchurch, Canterbury, who had taken part in the election of Roger de la Lee as Prior, in opposition to the most ancient custom of the church, and to the special prejudice of the dignity of the Lord Archbishop and his successors; and that they should see that they be strictly avoided by all.

But while these things were taking place, Brother Simon of Leicester and Dunstan arrived, having been sent, on behalf of the Convent, to prosecute the appeal, who recounted the appeal solemnly made in their own church by Brother Roger de la Lee on the Feast of the Assumption of Blessed Mary, on behalf of the Convent and their possessions, and for their liberties, and for their church, and for the ancient customs of the church; now still returning to the same charges and others that were connected with them, appealed against all their injuries, past, present, and future, and also against the promulgation of the denunciations.

[Much correspondence passed after this on both sides, in the course of which St Edmund accused seventeen monks, whom he

* January 22.

specified by name, as being the leaders of the rebellion, and summoned them to appear before him ; but they refused to do so on various grounds. St Edmund seems to have hesitated long before taking the final step of denouncing the monks throughout England. See Wallace, chap. xxi.]

The Archbishop takes Counsel of the Legate and Suffragans.

Gervase Chron. (ii., p. 159).

On the Friday before the Sunday on which is sung *Laetare Jerusalem*,* the Suffragans being assembled at London by order of the Lord Legate, the Lord Archbishop had a conference with them about the dispute between himself and us. For the most part they approved of his measures ; and he forthwith enjoined on each and all, by his letters patent, that they should denounce those who were excommunicated in all the churches of their respective dioceses, every Sunday and feast day, with ringing of bells and lighted candles. At which the Bishops of Chichester and Rochester being grieved, they begged him, together with Albert, the Bishop-elect of Armagh, to delay the sentence, on account of the scandal which would follow. And when the aforesaid Bishop-elect could not obtain his wish, he approached the Lord Legate, who, he said, ought not to tolerate it, for it would be a disgrace to him if in his presence the Church of Canterbury should be trampled upon, and that he had not interposed his services, that such a dispute between so great people should be settled in peace. Whence the Legate persuaded the Archbishop and some of the Suffragans to delay the sentence for a time, for that he was willing to use his own endeavours for the restoration of peace if possible ; and in order that the affair might be discussed

* The fourth Sunday of Lent.

between the parties, he would send the aforesaid Bishop-elect, as mediator, from him, as soon as opportunity offered.

The Rogation Processions.

Gervase Chron. (ii., p. 170).

When the Ascension Day was at hand,* we went out in procession, with banners and relics in our wonted



St Martin's Church, Canterbury.

fashion, through the town, a large crowd following us. And as we passed the different churches, not one was found to ring their bells, as they are accustomed to do in reverence for the relics, except St Michael's in Burgate and St George's. Spies were posted on behalf of the Ordinary to take the names of those who followed us;

* A.D. 1239.

but owing to their number this proved impossible. On the day of Pentecost, at the command of the Archdeacon, by the authority of his lord, the two aforementioned churches, namely, St George's and St Michael's, were suspended both from the ringing of bells and from celebrating Mass, because they had rung their bells in response to our procession.

The Citizens of Canterbury complain of the Scandal.

Gervase Chron. (ii., p. 173).

The things which were done on St Augustine's and the following days were not accomplished without much murmuring on the part of the people. . . . The townsmen complained that on account of the scandal which had arisen both in England and in the neighbouring provinces, merchants and pilgrims who had been wont to flock to the city, had ceased to come; from whose riches they had been accustomed to support themselves and their families; nor is this to be wondered at, for this well-peopled city is now sitting as though desolate, weeping with us, and calling out, "O Lord, save the city of Canterbury, and the monks thereof, lest we perish."

[The mediation of the Bishops having proved unsuccessful, after some further delay, the sentence of excommunication was finally promulgated throughout England on November 16, 1239.]

The King and the Legate oppose the Archbishop.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 567).

Afterwards, when the Suffragans came together, by the royal mandate, to relieve the necessities of the church, a contention arose between the king and the church, which at the instigation of the devil, increased more and

more. Many days were occupied, indeed, in trying to make peace, but, urged on by the author of all dissension, after vain delays they separated, at variance with one another. Then the Archbishop, standing up as a strong opponent, and placing himself as a wall before the house of Israel, after renewed troubles and multiplied wrongs, by advice of his Suffragans, passed sentence of anathema on all disturbers of the peace; repeating it, renewing it, and increasing it. Moreover, the man of God, established firmly on the Rock, which is Christ, could neither be softened by flattery, nor terrified by threats, to deviate from the pursuit of justice. But Otho, the Legate, anxious to please the king, when he saw his heart now wholly turned away from the Archbishop, whose enemies were increasing on every side, endeavoured to please the majority. By the authority, therefore, which he possessed, he annulled the acts of the Archbishop, absolving those whom he had specially excommunicated, and inflicting censures of anathema or suspension on those whom the Archbishop had from time to time absolved. . . . By the same authority, decision was given against the Archbishop in favour of the Convent of Rochester.* The Earl Simon of Leicester was likewise permitted to retain his wife†

* This was a question as to the right to nominate to the See of Rochester, which was then an appanage to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. St Edmund had the law clearly on his side; but the monks claimed a right by prescription of fifty-two years, and their claim was allowed.

† Countess Eleanor, sister of King Henry, had previously been married to William Marshal, son of the Earl of Pembroke. Shortly after his death, she took a vow of chastity by advice of and in presence of St Edmund. This fact was publicly known, and when the marriage with Simon de Montfort was projected, therefore, St Edmund protested that it was unlawful. Notwithstanding his opposition, the marriage took place, the ceremony being performed

in peace, although the Archbishop had fully informed the Pope of the vow solemnly made in his presence. In other cases, also, was he pitifully wearied and despoiled until the treasure that he had gathered was exhausted, and he was besides oppressed in many ways.

He is calumniated and oppressed.

Ibid.

This change in the right hand of the Most High, the malignant endeavoured to turn to his disparagement. They began to attribute the higher life which he led to superstition; his zeal for justice they termed cruelty; his affability they certainly affirmed to be frivolity; when he provided for the interests of his church, they attributed it to avarice; his contempt of worldly favour, they libellously called a seeking after vain-glory; the episcopal state he kept, they pretended was pride; and when in many things he followed the will of God, they gave him the note of arrogance. These are the chief things they said. Naught could be spoken or done by him but it was perverted by the malice of evil interpretation. But though he had many wrongs which did indeed rightly trouble and vex him, there was one about which he felt especially grieved in his secret heart. When the eldest son of our lord the King of England, the heir of all things,* was baptised, Otho, the Legate, was chosen to baptise him. He had forced himself into this position, though only in Deacon's orders, of a foreign nationality, inferior in character and wanting in theological knowledge during his absence in Rome. Simon de Montfort followed him there, in order if possible to obtain a papal dispensation, in which object he eventually succeeded.

* The future King Edward I,

ledge; and he was given precedence over the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Primate of all England, who was known as a priest of the same nation, of the highest character, of even distinguished sanctity, a doctor in many sciences, and a most renowned teacher, although he was present. But while the Legate performed the chief function, the Bishop of Carlisle put the infant into the water. Nevertheless, after the baptism, the Archbishop was allowed to perform the Confirmation.* Whence all believed him to be as one unprofitable, and held up to the contempt of all. What, then, remained to him but to leave everything?

His Patience towards his Enemies.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1809).

But as he wished to overcome his enemies by patience, he kept many things secret, and carefully passed over much in silence: hence, by many he was looked on as not sufficiently severe, and lukewarm, and remiss. One of these men one day, with familiar boldness, reproached him for enduring more injuries to his church than he ought to suffer. For it was not proper, he said, to allow his church to be so trampled upon, even though the other course might involve surrendering the archiepiscopal dignity. To this he answered: "If I thought more of the Archiepiscopate than of the dirt I trample beneath my feet, I would without doubt resign it before evening, and not unwillingly." But he did nothing rashly or with haste. Together with the Suffragans he implored the king, with humility, with faithfulness, and with all meekness, and frequently warned him to restore what he had taken unjustly, and to preserve the rights of the church. But

* Confirmation used in those days to be administered immediately after baptism,

the more, under the guidance of God, the saint with humility stood up against the trampling on his rights, so much the more, at the instigation of the adversary, did the crowd of his rivals become ready to defraud the innocent. For they took their strength from the presence of the Legate of the Sovereign Pontiff, trusting everything to the power of his dignity. And unless their malice had by miracle been kept in bounds, this malignant people would have perchance been more cruel even than those who crucified Christ.

He takes further Counsel of his Suffragans.

Cambridge MS., fol. 48b, col. 2.

At length, having called together a council of the Suffragan Bishops, and other prudent men with them, he discussed the course of action to be taken, how he might resist those who were rising up against him, and how he might deliver the church, depressed by so grave a servitude, and bring it into the liberty of the glory of the sons of God. His colleagues and fellow Bishops being consulted on this matter, advised that the king and others who were against him should be warned for the present, and that then, if the warning had no effect, the severity of ecclesiastical discipline should follow. The saint acted on their advice, and he himself accompanied those who were deputed to warn the king. The king, having heard from him the resolutions, promised to consider them. The man of patience waited long and patiently, being, however, very grieved for the loss to his church. And when no good came from waiting, and he saw that so much time was consumed, and the affair was put off by vain delays, he took the decision into his own hands. And

having called together a meeting of the faithful, he explained his cause with great care before them all, and with due deference to the king as excelling, being compelled by the obstinacy of those who were contumacious, and after having endured almost unbearable wrongs, he passed sentence of excommunication against those who infringed and unjustly disturbed the rights and liberties of the Church of Canterbury in general, and some whose guilt was publicly known in particular, excepting, however, the person of the king. For he hoped that they whom neither charitable warning nor the fear of God could withhold from evil, at least the force of so great severity might restrain, and might call back their hearts smitten by the hammer of the Word of God, to penance. But the hearts of the sons of men are sometimes hardened by the very means which ought to soften them, and they become, as it were, steeled.

The Legate demands Subsidies for the Pope.

Hist. Ang. (ii., p. 431).

During the course of the same year, there came together, at Reading, all the Bishops of England, and some of the great men of the realm, to hear the Pope's command set forth by the Legate. And when they had come together, the Legate having made a long speech, in order that he might win the hearts of his hearers, at length explained to all the various hardships and expenses which the Lord Pope suffered in withstanding the Emperor Frederick. He made a most pressing demand, therefore, on behalf of the Pope himself, for a fifth part of their goods, by the aid of which he might be able to repel the encroachments of so strong an enemy. To

whom, at the beginning of the council, the Bishops answered that they would by no means undertake so insupportable a burden, which affected the whole Church, without careful deliberation and full discussion. A place and day were therefore fixed for their consideration of this command.

And in the meantime, all the Bishops of England came together before Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, to consider the safest course to pursue in these great difficulties. At length, after many and various discussions, heaving deep and doleful sighs, the Archbishop said: "Brethren and friends, you must perceive by experience that these latter days have fallen upon critical times, nor is there any one who is not wearied of this mortal life. We must make a virtue of necessity; for while the Pope drags us one way and the king the other, I see not how we can resist." And when the other Bishops of England heard this, they came to the same way of thinking.

The Legate over-rides the Archbishop's Decisions.

Chron. Maj. (iv., p. 72).

But, in truth, St Edmund was an exile, dwelling in body alone in this pilgrimage, and languishing in weariness at the disputes rising up on every side. The rebels, likewise, whom he had in judicial form excommunicated, the Legate did not cease boldly and irreverently to absolve, and with unwarranted and irregular presumption, on the leave and consent of the king, he exceeded his powers in doing many things to the prejudice of the Archbishop and Primate of all England. But this trouble pressed hardly on all the

Bishops of England. Wherefore, when the king and Legate were talking together in jest, and promising to help each other in all things against all men, a certain jester rebuked them, saying: "Come, come; now I know well, that since the shepherd and wolf have made a treaty of peace, a cruel slaughter is threatening the sheep."

The Archbishop appeals to the Pope.

Chron. Maj. (iv., p. 14).

At the same time, Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, believed, and with confidence trusted, that he would find in the Lord Pope a helper, at least in some measure; such as Blessed Thomas the Martyr, the predecessor of the said Archbishop, had found in Pope Alexander of happy memory. He began, therefore, to make urgent complaints, in doleful letters and by special messengers, whereby he believed he would convert the Pope's heart of stone into one of flesh, so that he might put an end to the hateful and unjust custom by which kings, who were tyrants, and in all respect enemies to the Church and at war with it, did not suffer cathedral and monastic churches, when deprived of their pastors, even to breathe, nor to be provided anew by free and canonical election with fitting pastors; and he urged that the king should not at his will, without reason, hinder the elections by his lawyers, whom he retained for the express purpose of finding flaws. And that if any such church should lose its pastor, when the post should have been vacant for six months it should be competent for the Archbishop of the said place to make a fitting provision for it. And when, by the deceitful promise of the Roman court, Edmund was hoping to become another Thomas, by whose glorious combat the

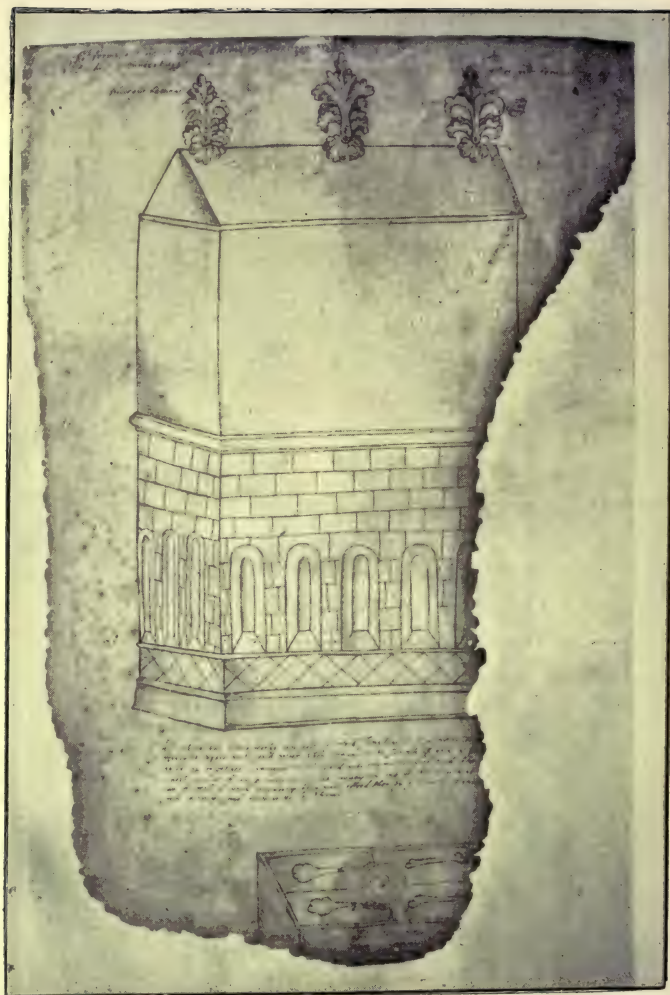
evil customs of the English Church were put an end to, and that Pope Gregory would emulate the example of Pope Alexander in the time of Blessed Thomas, his co-exile and helper, Pope Gregory was suddenly found to be timid as a man; and at the bidding of the King of England, who asserted this to be in opposition to his royal dignity, he revoked and annulled all his devout promises, about which the Archbishop had even obtained papal letters, not without great expense. At this, the king became more insolent and tyrannical than ever, and he procured the election of Boniface,* in opposition to the liberties of the Church of Winchester, by effectually impeding all else, though done rightly and with good intent.

His Visions.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 569).

The man of God, therefore, seeing that he would have to yield and to retire, according to the words of the poet, "When a madman is on his course, give place to his raving," on a certain night prayed very earnestly that the Angel of good Counsel would direct his steps and would enlighten his heart as to what should be done that was best, and most fitting, and most salutary for his soul in this emergency. And behold in the midst of his prayer while he was very much afraid to take flight altogether, it was revealed to him from above what he was to do, in the following words: "Trust the inscription written round thy small seal, and follow him whose martyrdom is represented in the midst." Now the inscription on his private seal was this: "Eadmundum doceat mors

* Boniface of Savoy, uncle of Queen Eleanor, and afterwards St Edmund's successor as Archbishop of Canterbury.



Shrine of St Thomas.
(From an old MS.)

mea ne timeat." And in the middle was finely carved, Blessed Thomas the Martyr, and the soldiers dashing out his brains.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1812).

And Blessed Thomas the Martyr himself appeared to him in vision, and strengthened him, with familiar exhortation, to act manfully. Seeing this, the blessed man strove to take the foot of the martyr to kiss it, but Blessed Thomas prevented him, withdrawing his foot. For which cause he wept and groaned. To whom St Thomas said, "Why weepest thou?" And he said, "Because my unworthiness does not permit my mouth to kiss thy most venerable feet." To whom the martyr said, "For this refusal, I would not have thee weep nor groan, for the time is at hand when thou shalt kiss me even on the face." On another occasion it seemed to him that he wished to enter the church at Canterbury, and pray with veneration at the tomb of St Thomas. And when he had prayed there, the blessed martyr appeared to him, and with a joyful countenance said: "I know, father, that thou seekest of me that I should show thee the wounds of my head." And saying these words, he took his hand in his own, and moved it along his head, thus allowing him to feel it; and in order that he might the more easily handle the scars of his wounds, he humbly bowed his head. And the Archbishop, thinking that he ought to consult him on the condition of some of his rivals, speaking more privately, made inquiries of him thus: "What (said he) shall happen to these unhappy people?" To whom the holy martyr answered, "Thou shalt do with them as with cattle." And with these words he disappeared.

He is comforted.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 569).

Having learnt from above, therefore, what he was to do, the Archbishop strove from henceforth to follow the track of Blessed Thomas the Martyr step by step. For it was granted to him to 'know in spirit that this was the voice of counsel and comfort of Blessed Thomas his predecessor. And although it was already his custom in his difficulties frequently, solemnly, and devoutly to invoke the martyr, from this time forward he invoked him in prayer more frequently, more solemnly, and more devoutly, in order that thus in the same manner as by bearing with fortitude the troubles and tribulations of this life he went gloriously forward towards eternal rest, so he might also by manfully supporting the oppression of the world and of worldly men, in fine hasten towards the Lord of all consolation and rest, who himself was leading him thither. The Archbishop, therefore, was comforted in the Lord, and concealed his inward cares under a bright countenance. O wondrous patience of this man of God, and worthy of everlasting remembrance! Whensoever the lawsuits, or anything that the lawyers did against him were brought to an adverse issue, joining his hands and raising his eyes to heaven, he would pray earnestly, saying, "Lord Jesus, who in Thy prayer didst say, 'Not my will but Thine be done,' I pray after the same fashion, not as I will, but as Thou wilt be it done. And as Thy will shall be in heaven, so let it be done [on earth]. Would only that my Church could obtain what according to law is hers: and for all else belonging to the enemy, let him keep and possess in happiness

what is his own." And when often he heard that his many adversaries obtained what they desired—and what wonder, for the Legate Otho, as another Pope, was opposed to him with all his strength—the fortitude of this holy man was in no wise moved, not even that his lips should fall into harsh words; nor was his countenance ever in any way changed, but after the model of Holy Job he would say: "As it hath pleased the Lord, so be it done, blessed be the name of the Lord. Thus have they decided who are skilled in the law; it is not to be supposed that so many and such learned men can go wrong, or be deceived."

He determines to leave England.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1811).

But the man of peace, being unwilling to contend with them, thought it better to yield before their wickedness rather than to be oppressed with lawsuits. But since he was unable to exercise the due office of a pastor, although his hands had been outstretched for the freedom of the Church, being afflicted inwardly with sorrow, as though exacting from himself the punishment for the sins of others, he banished himself from the kingdom of England.

He was led, indeed, by this consideration, that if he were to expend all the severity of the Church on the rebels, perchance the Legate would annul what he did: and nevertheless, he would be provoking the king and others at enmity with himself in their anger to do even worse and more serious things. And if he while present did not strive to correct evils, it would appear as though by practising such dissimulation, he was approving of

them. On this account he chose to absent himself in body, but not in heart, that by so doing he might show his affliction of spirit, and by his very absence he might bear witness against their malice and wrong-doing.

During his last Days in England, he works Miracles.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1811).

During the days which elapsed before he quitted his native soil, God worked several miracles through his instrumentality, some of which we have thought well to record, for the edification of other men. A certain man was afflicted with a severe fever, and earnestly besought the blessed father to consecrate some water, which, in order to recover his health, he would drink in place of medicine. And so it came to pass. The holy Bishop blessed the water, and when it had touched the vital parts of him who was sick, straightway the sick one recovered his strength. Which when some of his household reported to him, he forbade them to mention it so long as he was alive.

His Prophecies.

Ibid.

And to some persons he made known things which the event afterwards showed him to have learnt by the spirit of prophecy. For when Albert, a man worthy of veneration, was called to govern the Church of Armagh,* and sought the holy father as an angel of great counsel;

* Albert was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh at Westminster Abbey shortly after St Edmund had left England. He was afterwards translated to the Archiepiscopal See of Livonia in Prussia. He took a prominent part in the negotiations for the Canonisation of St Edmund.

he, without waiting, answered that he should not hesitate to accept this burden for God's sake. "Thou shouldst know, however (said he), that thou shalt encounter many trials, which thou must bear with a willing heart and a joyful soul. For thou shalt bring thy troubles to such a termination that thou shouldst now glory in patience." Which termination, although the servant of God had made it plain to him, he has nevertheless thought well not to describe to any one, or only to a few. For he still longs to bring it to this termination, as the holy man predicted.

He likewise made known to Lord William, Bishop of Norwich, and afterwards of Winchester,* what things should befall him, in this fashion: "Thou shalt be vexed with many persecutions, but in the end thou shalt triumph over them all." And that each of these prophecies rests on certain truth is proved by the event which gives testimony of the truth. For the first-named, who was formerly Bishop of Armagh, now glories in his tribulations, which he is still undergoing for justice' sake; and the latter, who is now Bishop of Winchester, after many tribulations, to-day is happily triumphant.

He determines to go to Pontigny.

Ibid.

And on the eve of his journey, when he was about to depart from his fatherland, he secretly conferred with certain devout men,† and told them the reason of his departure from England. And one of them inquired of

* William de Raleigh.

† From the Cambridge MS. we learn that these were the Prior and Sub-Prior of Lewes, the former of whom asked the question which follows.

him whither he would arrange to go, and whether he thought to make a stay at Pontigny. To whom the saint said: "We will go to Pontigny, and there, if it be God's will, we will work all manner of good." . . . For he knew that there a refuge had been found by all Prelates who had been exiled from England for justice' sake. . . . For he had before his eyes how Blessed Thomas the Martyr, before the time of his martyrdom, had awaited there for six years,* the reward of his life; and how that renowned man Stephen, called de Langton, together with several of his Suffragans, had in like manner awaited the palm of his labours and strife. And others, also, who by faith have, after much suffering, subdued kingdoms, likewise came to the mind of this invincible champion of the Lord.

Departure from England.

Hist. Ang. (ii., p. 435).

And when he was about to go, he bade farewell to the king, and said with tears: "Never again wilt thou behold my face."

Lanercost Chron. (p. 39).

And as he was taking leave of the land, making his retreat from the country, standing on a hill near the city of London, and casting his eyes over the land, he stretched forth his consecrated hand, and conferred his blessing on his fatherland; and he added his malediction on the woman,† and her future offspring.

* This is an error. St Thomas was at Pontigny only two years, when Henry II. threatened to persecute the Cistercians in England on his account; and he accordingly retired to Sens, where he spent the remaining four years of his exile.

† Countess Eleanor. For the fulfilment of this prophecy, see Wallace, p. 341.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 570).

On the eastern side of England, therefore, where stretches the island called Thanet, a ship was secretly and swiftly made ready, and having commended himself and all his, and likewise the cause of his Church to God and to the glorious Virgin, our Lady and Spouse, and to Blessed Thomas, his predecessor and guide, in company with his attendants, whose number he limited, for that he was impoverished not a little with liabilities to others, with a prosperous voyage he sailed to a port across the seas.

Abbrev. Chron. (iii., p. 280).

And when he was in the ship sailing, looking back on England, he wept bitterly, knowing in spirit that he should never see it again; and that the kingdom would suffer infinite evils, and the Church be oppressed with great servitude.

CHAPTER VII

EXILE AT PONTIGNY.—DEATH AT SOISSY

He lands in France.—The Queen of the French comes to meet him.

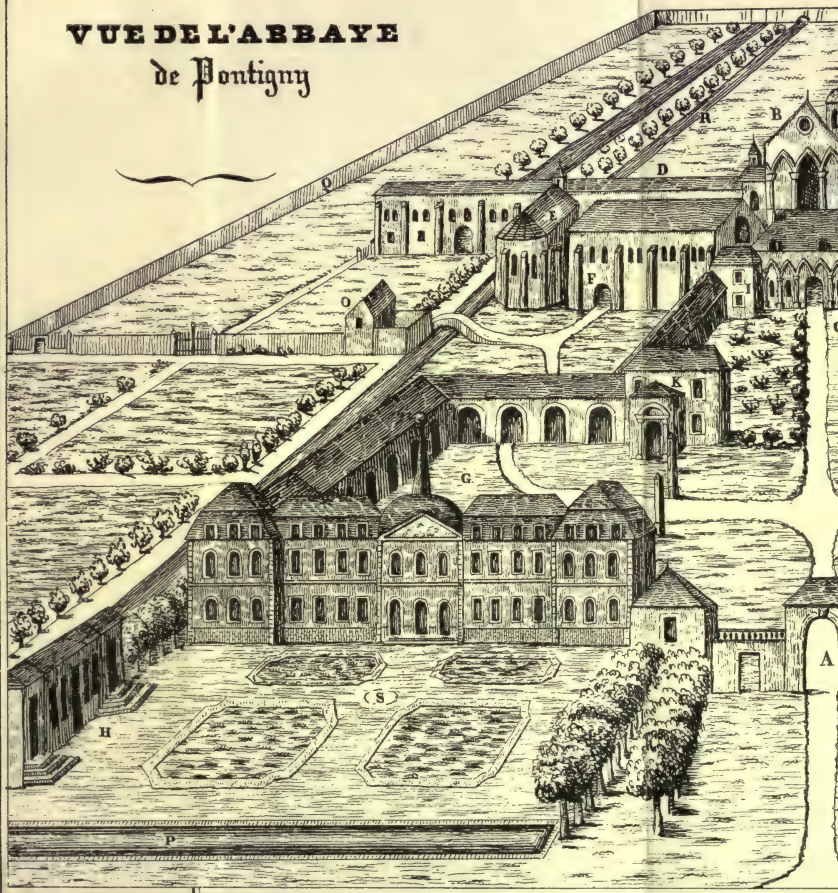
Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 571).

ON arriving in France, the Archbishop had a long and private interview at Senlis* with the lady Blanche, mother of the king of the French,† who is well known to have great and more than womanly discretion. Having brought her sons along with her into his presence, she recommended herself and them to his prayers, and besought him to bestow his blessing on them. And with great persistence, with her hands clasped, she begged him to join her in unceasing prayers for the state of the French kingdom, and for the safety of the king. This he agreed to with a promise, which without doubt he fulfilled. Hence it is that we trust with, as I think, a pious belief, that it was this his blessing which brought health and strength to the king when afterwards gravely ill, and when, according to what many say, he was actually dead, it restored him to life and safety, and afterwards also brought him honour and prosperity, as later events truly proved. This, indeed, the aforesaid

* An old Cathedral town, some thirty miles north of Paris.

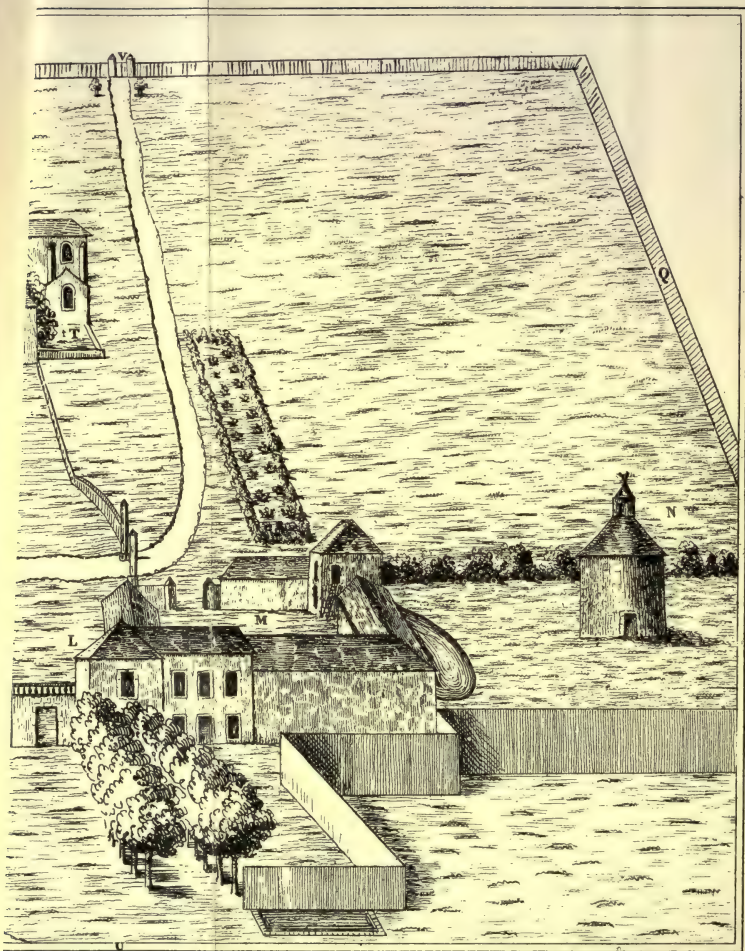
† St Louis IX.

VUE DE L'ABBAYE de Pontigny



Neveu's Lith. de E. Bussière.

Bird's-eye View of Ancient



L. Clément Peccé

Abbey, Pontigny.

[Face page 150.]

queen earnestly begged of him, having heard how many glorious deeds of sanctity had shone forth in his life, and how he was following in the way trodden by St Thomas the Martyr, step by step, without deviating therefrom. She therefore offered to his choice the whole French kingdom, that he might find in it a peaceful and quiet refuge for his own use, where the highest honour would be paid him at the expense of the Lord King, her son. This the king himself and his brethren earnestly besought him to accept; but the Archbishop, being unwilling to prolong his stay, thanked them profusely, and having obtained permission, he bade farewell and continued his journey towards Pontigny.

Arrival at Pontigny.—Fulfilment of St Thomas's Prophecy.

St John's College MS. (Wallace, p. 610).

Being received at Pontigny with honour, he and his attendants lay there in retirement in a guest-house, in which the Abbot and monks of the same monastery had once received St Thomas when in exile. The same Thomas, having been kindly and considerately treated for a long time, finally at his departure, as he had not wherewith to recompense them with material goods, in heartily thanking the Abbot and the whole community, said: "My beloved, having experienced your unfeigned charity in my exile, I confess myself a debtor to you the expenses to which you have been put on my account; but since, my revenues having been confiscated, we have no power to repay your loan, I have thought well to beseech you to have patience for the present, and I will pay you all. This, indeed, I faithfully pro-

mise, that at a time not far distant, an Archbishop will rule in Canterbury who will repay you for the benefits you have conferred upon me." Having said this, he returned to his own country, and fighting the battle for the Church of Christ, fell in the bosom of his mother, as a devout father killed by his [ungrateful] children. But lest the words of so great a Pontiff should become void, the fact that Edmund on his arrival, for the aforementioned reason, was able [by his presence] to repay the monks what they had spent on St Thomas, is believed to have happened by the special will of the Divine dispensation.

His Manner of Life at Pontigny.

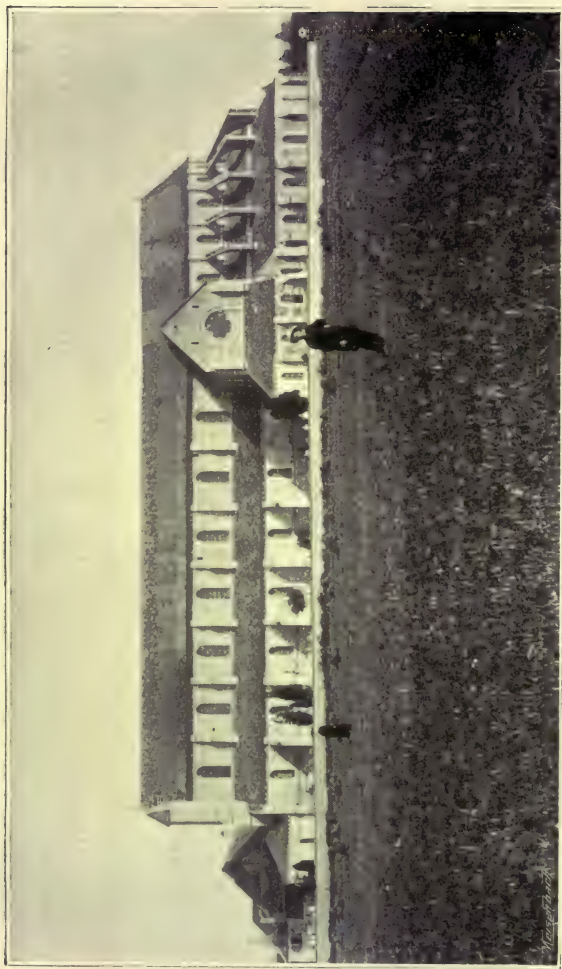
Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1814).

The Archbishop, therefore, having arrived at Pontigny with his distinguished companions,* was received with all reverence and honour, and there he gave himself to diligent study and prayer, spending in this manner the whole day and the greater part of the night. And knowing that he who labours not ought not to eat, he was wont to transcribe with his own hand those truths which the guidance of the Holy Spirit enabled him to find in the depths of Holy Scripture.

And when on a certain day he was preaching at the village of Legny,† a certain woman approached him, bringing her daughter, who was stricken down with a quartan fever. She had been given up by the doctors she had consulted, and had received no benefit from them, and had completely lost her appetite. The mother, there-

* His suite included his brother Robert, his chancellor, St Richard, Bertrand, his chamberlain, and others.

† About two miles from Pontigny.



Abbey Church, Pontigny (Exterior).

Face page 152.]

fore, entreated the man of God, on behalf of her daughter, beseeching him to touch her and to bless her by making the sign of the Cross. "For I believe (she said) that my daughter would be cured of her fever by thy sacred touch." To whom the saint said, with a smile, "Dost thou believe without doubt or hesitation that by my touch thy daughter would receive the gift of health which she longs for?" But she said, "I do believe, my lord." And he made the sign of the Cross with his thumb on the forehead of the sick person, and taking hold of her head with his hands, and drawing them down her cheeks, he said to the girl, in presence of her mother: "May the Lord restore to thee thy health." And she who had been afflicted with quartan fever experienced the power of his words, and was never afterwards troubled by a return of the malady.

His Austerities.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 571).

And dwelling [at Pontigny] in peace for some days, so assiduously did he give himself to prayer, contemplation, hearing confessions, preaching, and other devout works, that all those living there were strengthened in their religious spirit, and were trained and happily incited to a mutual emulation. They marvelled to see such a truly religious life in one who was a secular. And once, when he diminished his lenten fare more than usual, notwithstanding the pious reproofs of his brethren, he persevered in what he had undertaken. For they said: "Holy Father, one of our doctors, Blessed Bernard of Clairvaux, says: 'Keep thy body in check, but do not destroy it; repress it, but do not oppress it.' And the usage of the Church teaches us to pray that we may 'give

a reasonable service.' And there is a maxim, 'For a beast of burden (that is for your body), provide food, a burden, and a rod.'" Yielding to their persuasions, the Archbishop reduced the strictness of his abstinence in



Abbey Church, Pontigny (North Aisle).

many ways, but he did not entirely accede to their wishes. The monks, therefore, became themselves ashamed, condemning their own weakness and sloth, though they were leading the severe life of Cistercians.



Abbey Church, Pontigny (Interior).

He is weary of Life.

Chron. Maj. (iv., p. 72).

And he languished both in body and mind; and heaving deep sighs, would repeat: "Oh how far better to die than to see the evils of my people, and of the saints upon the earth. . . ." Longing, therefore, to be dissolved and to be with Christ, he used to pray, saying: "Woe is me, that my sojourning is prolonged. It is enough and more than enough for me to see everything falling headlong into ruin. O Lord God, take away my life." And the Archbishop dwelt some days at Pontigny, where Blessed Thomas the Martyr, his predecessor, had once lived as an exile, and where day and night, in tears and fasting, he poured forth unceasing prayers to God and Blessed Thomas for the state of the English Church and its dangers.

His Sermon to the Monks.—He is received as one of the Community.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 572).

One day, at the request of the Abbot and Convent, the Archbishop entered the chapter. And as he delivered to them a sermon, he instilled into their hearts true virtue, and instructed their minds in knowledge. His speech was inflamed, imbued with much feeling, and chastened with terseness and brevity. He spoke in Latin as an orator; in the vulgar tongue, that is, French, as a Frenchman. After the sermon, he begged and obtained leave to share the lot of a monk in spiritual matters, in order to obtain a share in the common blessings of the whole house. From thenceforward, he went among them as one of their own community, so that he might profess

himself to be one of the brethren, although he did not wear the monk's habit. And he used to rejoice in giving them refreshments, which we call pittances.*

"Speculum Ecclesiæ."

[During his stay at Pontigny St Edmund finished his treatise, which he called by the name of "Speculum Ecclesiæ," or the



Monks' Washing Place, Pontigny.

"Mirror of the Church." He must have written most of it before he left England, very probably before he became Archbishop, either at

* These were small extra portions brought into the refectory in honour of any special occasion.

Salisbury or Oxford.* But it is known to have been finished at Pontigny, as it is addressed to the monks there. The scope of the work is to set forth the chief articles of the Church's faith and practice applied to the life of an ordinary Christian. It is specially interesting as showing the high standard of living set before the average layman of that day. For a full account of its contents, see Wallace, Chapter xxv. and Appendix XXIII.]

His Illness increases.—He retires to Soissy.

St John's College MS. (Wallace, p. 611).

From the very beginning of his dispute with the refractory monks he had already felt some secret symptoms of his final dissolution, though as yet but slight ones, and he was attacked by dysentery, which, however, except in old age, is not usually a fatal disease. But as the illness was increasing little by little in the close air of Pontigny, he determined to seek another climate.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1814).

Leaving Pontigny, therefore, he came to a certain priory called Soissy,* and there he remained till the last day of his life. But as the Prior and monks of Pontigny grieved that his presence was to be taken away from them, being moved with pity, he consoled them with these words: "I will return hither (said he), on the coming Feast of St Edmund, king and martyr,† for the sun by that time having declined further from our hemisphere, will bring to us the frosts of winter." And this he said not without the spirit of prophecy, as after events proved.

* A small priory of Canons Regular, about seven miles from Provins, and dependent on the Abbey of St James there. The Cambridge MS. says that St Edmund's reason for going there was "that he might find quiet and solitude away from the concourse of men."

† November 20.

For on that very day was his body brought to Pontigny, and thus he fulfilled when dead what he had promised when alive, so shortly before his death. Nor must we omit to mention the works of compassion which he performed on his way to the aforesaid priory, how he distributed money with his own hands to the poor whom he met.

His Charity during his last Illness.

Ibid.

When, therefore, he tarried at the aforesaid place, he began little by little to grow weaker in body, while he was more and more strengthened in spirit. And when the Abbot of St James, at Provins, gave him some cooked figs, he said, "It is now a long time since any palatable food has entered my mouth." And as his sickness grew upon him, and he could no longer go forth to the gate to bestow money upon the poor, he called unto him one of his chaplains, and said: "I charge thee to go very frequently to the gate to bestow money upon the wayfarers whensoever thou seest them pass by; and to one give two pieces of silver, and to another three, and to another four, according as thou seest them in greater or less need and lacking aid. And that nothing may be wanting in this work of charity, thou shalt according to my bidding take from my chamber according to thy will."

He receives Holy Viaticum.

Testimony of Eustace (C.C. Col. MS.).

When, as his illness became worse, he saw that his last day was approaching, he commanded that the Holy Viaticum should be brought to him, making ready his lamp in the meantime, so that when his Lord should come,

he might go forth not unprepared to meet Him. And how bright was that lamp, how precious the oil which he had stored up within himself, those words testify which, when the Viaticum was brought to him, he addressed to his Lord, as though He was verily approaching him, saying : "Thou art He, O Lord, in whom I have believed, whom I have taught, whom I have preached ; and Thou art my witness that so long as I have been in the world, I



Soissy.

have sought nothing but Thee ; into Thy guardianship I commend my spirit." Those who were present, hearing how conformable these words were with his life, for in them was the consciousness that his sins had been cleansed away, were lost in admiration at the clearness of his speech, deeming that he had passed even into an ecstasy, because he spoke in this manner ; for when he uttered the words, as those present bore witness, on a sudden, as it were, a light from heaven shone about him, and quickly

also a certain bright glow spread over him, and his face, which before had been covered with an ashy pallor, forthwith, as the fervour of his charity burst forth, put on the comeliness of a ruddy hue. All were in amazement, and marvelling that so sudden a change had come upon him, approached near, to contemplate him as though transfigured and glorified in the friendship of God, and even made like to the body of His brightness. This friend of God, therefore, received Him by whom he was to be received, he embraced Him by whom he was to be embraced, and as in the very act of receiving, desiring, though not having the strength, to set forth his joy, at length in his own native tongue he gave forth a common proverb, "Men say that mirth goeth into the belly, but I say it goeth into the heart;" for he spoke indeed of that spiritual nourishment by which his mind was thrilled with untold joy, which joy is at once in the heart unspeakable, and upon the face scarce to be expressed, so that if any one should strive to declare it, he would perchance seem to overpass the bounds of truth.

Anxiety of his Attendants.—He writes a Letter on their Behalf.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 574).

And his attendants, who were all virtuous, well behaved, and trained with strict care, seeing that he was at the very gate of death, began with tears in their eyes to lament, saying: "O God, what will become of us? When our most blessed father is dead, whither shall we go? For we are detained in a far-off country as exiles and in want, and even unprovided with food. Those at court can enrich their clerics with manifold

revenues; but our master leaves us wholly destitute. Alas, alas! to dig we are unable, to beg we are ashamed; we have never been inured to trade, nor would our poverty now allow of it. If we return home, we shall be hated by the king or those in power, on account of our master, whom they detested. What remains for us but a death of misery?" The Archbishop, on hearing these things, was moved with unspeakable compassion; and calling to him one of them, who seemed more unhappy than the rest, he said: "Friend, I will write to a certain man, my faithful colleague, on thy behalf, and he will not fail in his duty either to me who write it, or to thee in thy distress." And demanding writing materials, [he wrote as follows]:

E[DMUND], by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, to our Venerable Brother in Christ, W[illiam],* by a like grace Bishop of Norwich, health and sincere love in the Lord.

"Although it is commonly said that death cuts us off from all things, nevertheless that love which is founded on the root of charity, neither does adversity destroy, nor the misfortune of death remove; for charity never falleth away. We, therefore, with the feeling of this enduring affection, embrace with all our strength your brotherly fidelity, and as we know by experience how your kindness extends itself to our own person, being weighed down by a very grievous sickness, and brought, as it were, to the brink of the grave, we cease not to appeal to the unwearied constancy of your love, humbly and devoutly entreating in the name of piety, that imprinting on your heart the memory of our soul, you will deign to pray for us and to have prayers said throughout your diocese. Moreover,

* William de Raleigh.

we also beg of you that in your bountiful goodness you would be pleased to take into your service our most dear friend, Robert of Essex, the bearer of these presents, whom before God and man we believe and know to be worthy of commendation in virtue, faithfulness and devotedness of service, that by the presence of him, whom on account of his merits we have long pressed to ourselves with the love of our heart, your own devotion may be more frequently aroused to the memory of us. But since the dead are wont to find few and rare friends, especially in the kingdom of England, we commend to your perfect love the last testament given by us, and signed with our seal, and our executors named therein. We request, therefore, for the love of Him who is the generous Recompenser of all good works, that you would give your advice and assistance to the aforesaid executors. Given at Soissy, November 14, in the eighth year of our Pontificate."

The Last Day of his Life.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1815).

On the third day after [he had received Viaticum], he begged to receive the sacrament of the dying, namely, Extreme Unction, and his wish was carefully complied with on the part of his assistants. Afterwards, he requested that a crucifix, with the images of Blessed Mary and Blessed John, should be placed before his eyes, in memory of the Crucified One, and of His sacred Passion ; which, having received with groans and sighs, and a copious flow of tears, he kissed and pressed devoutly and sweetly to his lips. Then, taking a little wine, which had been brought to him shortly before, at his bidding, forthwith

with his own hands he washed the places of the nails on the same crucifix, and the lance wound in the side ; and making the sign of the cross over the ablution with great devotion, he drank it, after kissing the places of the nails ; and he spoke these words : “ *Haurietis [nunc] aquam in gaudio de fontibus salvatoris.*” * After taking this ablution he never drank again. Those present were amazed, and not without reason, to see such a shower of loving tears flow, and to witness that unwonted manner of devotion unalloyed, that brightness of his clear conscience. They marvelled, indeed, when they saw how the joy of his heart overspread his countenance, and how mortified he showed himself in his outward demeanour. And now the use of his limbs began to fail him, but a fresh vigour of mind was ever showing itself. Then one skilled in the art of medicine approached close to him, to feel his pulse, as a doctor is accustomed to do ; and when he had carefully examined him, with some sadness of heart, he said : “ My Lord, your pulse is becoming very feeble, and shows sufficiently plainly the weakness of your life.” To which the saint answered : “ Be not anxious, for I am prepared like a man girt for a journey. I have been strengthened according to Catholic practice with all the last rites of the Church, and I have ordered candles and all else necessary for my funeral to be prepared, without anything omitted, in a seemly and fitting manner.” And when he was near death, he showed no certain sign thereof, giving forth neither sighs nor groans, nor any noise of the throat ; nor did he lie on a bed, as dying men are wont to do, but either sat, or leant his head on

* You shall draw waters with joy out of the Saviour's fountains (Isa. xii. 3).

his hands, or when his limbs became too weak to support him, he would lie fully dressed on the bed.

His Hair-shirt is miraculously Preserved.

Oseney Chronicle (p. 87).

And when he felt that his death was at hand he bade his chamberlain burn the hair-shirt which he used ; who, taking it, cast it into the fire, and placing a large number of coals thereon, left it thus. When he afterwards came, however, he found the hair-shirt entirely whole and unharmed by the fire ; and he told his master that it would not burn. And the Archbishop said, " I will myself apply the fire." Which when he had done, and had left the hair-shirt in the fire, still it did not burn. After the expiration of an hour, withdrawing it from the flames, he found it wholly uninjured by the fire ; and he said, " Since it so pleases my Lord, let it be taken to my brother Robert ;" and returning to his bed, he lay down.

His Final Bequests.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 576).

And then, at the suggestion of those around him, he put away all soreness of mind towards the monks of Canterbury, and relaxed his sentence [of excommunication] against them, on condition of their humbling themselves and rendering satisfaction, and he begged pardon of all that community for anything he had done : and he bequeathed his body to Pontigny. Hardly had he finished these words, when the Prior of the house, most dear to the Archbishop, who was then present, said, " Alas, alas, dost thou desert us entirely and depart away

from us?" But he answered, "By no means; my heart and affection is with you for ever." And they did not understand the word. But after his death, his body was opened, and his heart and *viscera* were buried there; and then their eyes were opened and they understood the word. This was done because his body was to be taken to Pontigny, which is distant from Soissy, where he died, about twenty leagues; that is, at least, two days' journey.

But neither was this dutiful brother unmindful of his holy sisters, who were nuns at Catesby, although he was in the last extremity of life, and he left them his cloak of a grey colour, made of cloth called in the vulgar tongue *camlet*, with a cape of lamb's wool; and likewise a silver tablet, on which was sculptured an image of Blessed Mary nursing her Son in her lap, and the Passion of Christ, and the martyrdom of Blessed Thomas, through which, at Catesby, where they are reverently preserved, the Lord works at the present day miracles worthy of eternal remembrance.

And then, worn and wearied by these labours, he was silent.

His Death.

Oseney Chronicle (p. 88).

And about midnight he said to those about him, "What hour of the night is it?" They answered, "It is about midnight." Then he lay down for a time. And again he asked, "What hour of the night is it now?" They said, "Just before dawn." And after again lying down, he asked a third time, "What hour of the night is it now?" They said, "It is the dawn." The Arch-

bishop said, "I commend you to God." Then uttering the words, "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," the most holy Archbishop expired on Friday, November 16, 1240.

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1516).

Thus in fine, on the week-day on which Christ, the true life, tasted death for those who were dead in sin, about the hour when the morning sun ascends the heavens, brighter than the sun he ascended his heavenly throne, as one falling asleep, without any agony such as usually comes to the dying, passing from his cell to heaven, from the body of death to the land of the living, from the misery of mankind to the joy of the angels. Nor did he die in purple and fine linen, nor on the softness of a luxurious bed, but dressed in his everyday clothes, reclining on his usual couch, that is the hard, bare ground. Whose soul, upright and holy, sublime and glorious, cut off from all the enticements of this world, was received by the choirs of angels, to be conducted into Abraham's bosom, where now he rests after his labours, and rejoices after his exile; where he is gloriously crowned after his triumph; where he is bathed in the light of truth, and inebriated with the fountain of charity; where he loves more ardently, and knows more fully Him in Whom he put his trust; Whom he worshipped in all piety, and Whom he served in all faithfulness.





Abbey Church, Pontigny.—Front, showing Porch. (See p. 279.)

Face page 167.]

CHAPTER VIII

FUNERAL OF ST EDMUND.—MIRACLES WORKED AT HIS TOMB.—HIS CANONISATION

The Archbishop's Seal is broken.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 577).

ON the day after his death, he who exercised the office of Chancellor,* having imprinted on the above-mentioned† letters for the last time the Archbishop's seal, handed them the following morning to those for whom they had been written, to be taken to his friends; who, having received them, forthwith with tears and many groans took leave of the clerks who remained with the body, and went their way. Then the seal was publicly broken to pieces before all the assembled household, according to the usual custom, on account of the danger of fraud. On the seal, as has been mentioned, the likeness of his predecessor, Blessed Thomas, was engraved, having his brains cut away; in whose footsteps Blessed Edmund having followed, he has now merited to be his comrade in glory.

The Body is taken back to Pontigny.

Cambridge MS., fol. 51a, col. 2.

Then the body of the servant of God was made

* St Richard.

† See p. 161.

ready to be taken to the monastery of Pontigny, where he had said he was to be buried. The *viscera* were removed, as is customary in such cases, and were buried with honour and reverence at the monastery of St James at Provins, in the middle of the choir. The rest of the body having been washed in the usual manner, and clad in pontifical vestments, was carried with due reverence to the oratory at Soissy, where vigil was devoutly kept all through the night. And when the next day this noble piece of clay was carried from Soissy to Traisnel, it was surrounded by an immense and unlooked-for demonstration of devotion on the part of the faithful people, who, receiving the body with untold reverence, rejoiced in its presence, took delight in gazing at it, and believed themselves, as well as everything that touched it, to be sanctified by contact with it. And when the Abbot of Pontigny, coming to meet it, saw the marvellous devotion of the people, and their unrestrained veneration, forcing his way through the strangers, he approached the sacred body and said: "Good Father, since thou art a brother of the Pontigny community, it is thy duty to obey me. Therefore I request thee that thou dost no further miracle till thou comest to thy place of rest." For he was fearful lest the body should be taken from him, or part of the pontifical vestments torn away. Therefore, for greater safety, he sealed the bier with his own seal, in the presence of him who wrote these things, and many others.

On the following day, as the sacred body passed through Villeneuve l'Archevêque de Sens, a large multitude of both sexes ran up towards it, calling out with cries of joy in praise of the saint, and with marvel-

lous devotion kissing the bier, which was brought to a standstill by the press of people; nor could they be restrained from forcibly taking the bier from the shoulders of the Abbots and priests, and bringing it into the church, where they laid it upon the altar as an honourable burden. Then, indeed, every one of them believed himself to be suffering no small loss if he did not joyfully touch or at least look on the bier, and if he did not, drawn on by love and veneration, kiss some part of the body or bier. For contact therewith seemed to bring health to every one. Some rushed into the church, while others, on account of the crowd of people, remained outside till the body should be brought forth. After a long delay, some strong men, in response to our entreaties, rushing in with clubs, forced the unwilling people and the assembled crowds to go out. The sacred body was then placed on a carriage, and taken, accompanied by the people, to the house of the Templars at Coulours. And as mention has been made of this house, we will record a remarkable circumstance. When the Blessed Father on his way from Pontigny passed through the same town, casting his eyes on this same house, he asked whose it was. Some one answered that it was a house of the Templars; to which the saint replied, saying, "On my return I will spend a night therein." And this was fulfilled when his body received hospitality there for one night, as has been said.

On the third day, as the body was taken away and carried thence, men and women came forth to meet it, calling and shouting, "Where is the holy body?" Here might be seen lines of clerics chanting their psalms, there a crowd of monks, pale with fasting. Here were tillers of the soil, come out of fields and vineyards

and roads; there some people from the neighbouring villages come joyfully to meet him. Then two of his clerks, like the faithless Jews who asked for a sign (not, indeed, like them in faith, but like them in mind), wondering at the concourse of people and their devotion, spoke to each other thus: "What is it that every one has come forth to meet with such reverence? They applaud him as a saint, though his life is unknown to them, and his holiness is not proved." And they added that the monks of Pontigny had arranged it all, sending some of their number beforehand to announce the death, and to proclaim his sanctity, so that the unlearned people might be taught from their lips to worship him and pray to him as a saint. And as the people, nevertheless, came forward in a mass, the afore-said clerics, impelled by the spirit of the Jews, leapt with one accord from their horses, and placing themselves steadfastly in front of those who were accompanying the sacred body, demanded of them for what cause they were thus running, and what they were seeking. But some of them, to whom flesh and blood had not revealed the saint, but being instructed from heaven by their devotion, said, "We go to meet the saint." Others, however, asking when the saint was coming, went madly forward without waiting for an answer. Women also, forgetful of womanly bearing and modesty, ran along by the side of the road. Why say more? Young men and maidens, old and young, longed for his coming and ran to meet him, calling him openly a saint. With a solemn and imposing *cortége*, therefore, on the Feast of St Edmund,* king and martyr, his body arrived at the gates of

* November 20.

ipse lapis ad maiorem cancelam et ieiunia
tem etiam aureo circulo circumcingitur
prout in capite huius capituli figuratur.

Ponderat autem Serdenas De Saphuro



Hunc lapidem per consuetudinem Hich.

videlicet saphyrum fere rotundum
et coloris remissi dedit dominus
Nicholaus auribus de sancto alba-

no oriundus: deo et ecclesie sancti albi. Et gemma

quaque fuit beati Edmundi cantuariensis archiepiscopi

Postea uero sancti Roberti fratris eius. Postea uero

memorati domini Nicholai. In libro sic de

castonis utilissime lites insculpuntur

nigellate. Et erit cum crucifixo figuratur.

Ponderat autem Serdenas De amulo archiepiscopi



Hunc amulum continet aconem Iohannis.

Unum saphyrum orientale intensi

coloris dedit huic ecclesie dominus Iohannes

de Wymundham huius ecclesie archidiaconus

Stone of St Edmund's Ring.
(From a drawing by Matthew Paris.)

Pontigny, and was received by the Abbot and Convent with fitting reverence. Then it came back to their memory how the Confessor of Christ had promised that he would return on that day; and they said one to another: "Is not this prophecy of our father come true? O father, we hoped to receive thee living, and lo! even in death thou keepest thy promise. Nevertheless, even so in sorrow we receive thee, that afterwards thy presence may be our joy." The body, therefore, was placed in the church, and they waited without fear of its corrupting until the seventh day after his decease, in order to prepare the tomb. But through all that night the community kept vigil in prayer, and the body lay in the midst, as though covered with a ruddy hue, with its face exposed.

The Story of his Ring.

Cambridge MS., fol. 52b, col. 1.

A certain monk, named Peter, who at that time held the office of Sacristan in the monastery, was standing hard by, regulating as circumstances required the approach of those who were crowding in. And when he witnessed for a long time how many came anxious to carry off anything they could, and others who brought different ornaments in order to have them touched, he said within himself, "How is it that thou art so little incited by such devotion on the part of the faithful to get some relic which will be of service for future contingences, especially as thou holdest the office of Sacristan, to whom belongs the disposal of these things? I know what I will do." Then coming closer, as if he had some part of his work to do, he tried to remove the ring from

the hand of the Archbishop, and to substitute another. And when drawing it gently had no effect, he began to pull with all his force; but the ring resisted him and remained immovable on the finger. When he had waited a long time in vain, being afraid lest he should be caught in the act, he departed; and pondering over what was to be done, although he was ashamed of the way in which he had acted, he came back, and devoutly stooping over the ears of the body, in a whisper and as though talking to a living man, he spoke thus: "I have sinned, holy father, by not asking thy leave before taking to myself what was thine. But since I was attempting to do it for thy honour and for the salvation of the faithful, pardon me now that I confess it, and mercifully grant what I ask." With these words he approached the hand, and forthwith, as soon as he took hold of the ring it came off with such ease, that it seemed rather to fall off of its own accord than to be removed. Being overjoyed, therefore, at such a sign, he confessed everything to the Abbot, who, rejoicing with him, ordered the ring to be placed among the other holy things. And by contact with it, through the bounty of the Lord, many benefits are conferred on the sick to the present day.

The Funeral.

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 581).

And after the lapse of four days, during which such a multitude of men assembled as are wont to come together for public market, on the Feast of St Clement, that is November 23, the body of our blessed and glorious father Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Confessor, was buried in the Church of the Blessed

Virgin Mary, Mother of God, in the house of the Cistercian Order at Pontigny, in the presence of a great multitude of the aforesaid monks, clerks, and noble laymen who assisted. Great and distinguished men took part in the obsequies, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Monks, and Magnates, and there was a most devout celebration, with music, lights, vestments, and other accessories of Divine worship. In which place, as elsewhere wherever the sweet memory of the saint is kept to the honour of God, clear and manifest miracles are worked, to the support and strengthening of the Christian faith, which are worthy of everlasting remembrance, such as in our time have been neither seen nor heard of.

Vision of the Monk Herman.

Cambridge MS. fol. 53a, col. 1.

The next day, a council having been held, they filled the grave with earth, and for nearly eight days the miracles which had begun ceased to take place; at which the monks, seeing the sick come and leave without obtaining their longed-for health, were much saddened, and discussed together for what reason this could have happened; when lo! one of them, named Herman, coming up, said that he had seen a bright vision, and he spoke thus: "I will set forth to you clearly, if you wish, the cause of this matter." And then he added, "I had a vision, and behold Blessed Edmund appeared to me several times, and when I asked him in all reverence why he did not finish a perfect work which he had well begun by his miracles, he answered by showing me how he was lying buried beneath the earth, and how, as he held his hands

pressed upon his breast, he had not the power to lift them. And he said, "What can I do with this weight upon me? Lo! I cannot rise nor even lift my hands." All, therefore, being moved by this vision, gave glory to God, and removed the earth laid upon him. Which being done, the power of miracles suddenly returned. Nor should this be omitted also, that when the body of the saint came to Pontigny, a certain monk, being, as it is believed, inspired thereto, said, "Never has so noble a treasure entered into this house; it remains, therefore, that it should be well guarded there."

The Archbishop of Sens visits Pontigny.—The Tomb of St Edmund is opened.

Ibid.

Now the Lord Walter, at that time Archbishop of Sens, absent in body, but present in spirit, had loved with great affection the man of God, and had a longing desire to see him and to hold converse with him. Having, therefore, sent great gifts, he wished to see his face and receive his blessing; but it was so ordained from on high that he should not find him alive whom he sought. Upon which, being filled with sadness, he hastened to Pontigny, in the hope of seeing him dead whom he had been unable to see living. He succeeded in his wish, and coming to the monastery, obtained leave from the Abbot that he might see and touch with his hands him who had been buried already nearly a month. He came and saw, and when the tomb was opened after seven times four days,* no sign of corruption was to be found. Returning

* This is no doubt a reference to the history of Lazarus.

thanks to God, therefore, he went away, and a short time afterwards he himself died.

The Body is Removed to a new Tomb.

Ibid.

Three months after the time of his burial, the Abbot and Convent came together, that the body of the servant of God, which in the ordinary course of nature should have been either entirely corrupt, or at least noisome in odour, having been brought once more above ground, might be placed in a more fitting tomb.*

Therefore they removed all the earth which had been cast in, when those present saw the body entire, and the face fresh and not marked with any sign of corruption. They approached nearer, glorifying God, and touching with their own hands the limbs which in the dead are wont to be rigid, they found them flexible. Why say more? It was placed in a tomb, but the height of the chalice presented an impediment which prevented it properly



Abbey Church, Pontigny : Chapel in which St Edmund was buried.

* The new tomb was probably in the chapel at the east end of the church : see Notes on Illustrations, p. 282.

fitting. Seeing this, those who stood by cut away the sacred vestments of the Archbishop. Nor was this enough; so they uncovered the body itself, to make room for the chalice, when they found the flesh as though of a living man, and so sweet, that, imprinting a kiss on his breast, they perceived a wondrous odour. Who will not be astonished and confess that this is a great miracle, and one granted to few saints indeed? He has his dwelling-place in peace, since his heavenly habitation is in Sion. To this tomb, therefore, the sick come and are cured, and many benefits are granted to the faithful. Whence the devotion of them that believe is fostered, the profession of faith is made fervent, the confusion of unbelievers becomes manifest, and the frequent and joyful exaltation of Holy Mother Church is increased. And it is worthy of renown how He who is zealous for holy souls has wonderfully glorified His saint.

St Richard.

Life, by Ralph Bockling (Bollandists, April, i., p. 287).

With constancy and perseverance did St Richard stand by St Edmund in his tribulations, both in his own country and during his exile; not unmindful that those who are companions in suffering shall likewise be companions in consolation, and that those who suffer together shall also reign together. Nor do I think I should omit those words of wondrous affection to which the same Edmund gave expression in his last will: "We bequeath (he said) our cup to our Chancellor, whom we have long entwined in our affection."* These words of holy memory, Otho, at that time Legate of the Holy See in

* *Quem jam diu nobis invisceravimus.*

England, so admired, that he caused them to be recited before him again and again.

And when the course of his life had been run, and the holy spirit of Blessed Edmund had separated itself from his body, and had exchanged its exile for its true fatherland, and had returned to God from whom he received it, to be united to the joyful choirs of the angels, and the sacred earth which composed his body, already glorious by its incorruption, had been buried at Pontigny, not without reason did the clergy and people of England mourn at being deprived of so great a treasure. But it was by God's providence so arranged with all justice, that his body should be buried in peace, and the consolation of so great a favour should be denied to his persecutors. Blessed Richard, therefore, being bereft of such a father, and deprived of so sweet a bodily presence, would perchance have exceeded the due measure of grief, had he not feared to go against the Divine will by murmuring; and had he not confidently believed that his venerable father himself had exchanged the misery of this life for an immortality of bliss. Thus his father, though dead, was as one still living, for he left to come after him one who, if he was not in all things like to him (which, indeed, must be left to the Divine Wisdom to decide), nevertheless, I can confidently and boldly assert, strenuously endeavoured to imitate him, so far as human frailty would permit. O how frequently did he pronounce the venerable name of Blessed Edmund! how it was ever on his lips and in his heart! For as often as anything was spoken, or anything performed, or anything preached resembling the virtues of Blessed Edmund, he was wont to add, "Thus used my lord Edmund to speak, thus to comport himself, thus to

preach." For he was diligent in frequently recounting his acts, his virtues, and his words; but still more diligent in imitating them. Being freed, therefore, from the care of the archiepiscopal business, wishing to carry to its due termination his literary work which had been temporarily interrupted, he betook himself to the study of theology; and at Orleans, in the house of the Friars Preachers, under the tuition of a certain brother of the same order, renowned for his knowledge, he made such progress that he soon was taught and learnt the greater part of the whole text of the Bible. . . . He received the priesthood from the Bishop* of the place, to whom the virtues and learning of Blessed Richard were not unknown, and from thenceforward he mortified his flesh to such a degree that, had not the more prudent counsel of his friends induced him to moderate his austerities, his body would have given way. And with leave of the Bishop of the diocese, he built an oratory in honour of Blessed Edmund, where he used to offer Mass and to pour forth prayers of supplication to God.

Election of St Edmund's Successor at Canterbury.

[On the death of St Edmund, it became the duty of the Canterbury Chapter to elect a new Archbishop. They were left in a state of practical difficulty, as with the sentence of excommunication still unremoved, the election might be considered invalid. They held an election, however, on February 1, 1241, and chose Boniface of Savoy, uncle of the Queen Eleanor. And in the meantime they sent a deputation of their number to Rome, to work on their behalf. These latter were successful in obtaining a rescript from the Pope, dated February 21, 1241, exculpating them from the opprobrium of the late forged charter, which was described as the work of three monks who

* William de Bussi.

had been duly punished. The Pope, however, refused to accept the nomination of the new Archbishop until the matter of the excommunication had been looked into.]

Chron. Maj. (iv., p. 103).

The monks of Canterbury who had been sent by the Convent to Rome to obtain absolution from the dread censures which the Archbishop had passed upon them, returned from the Roman court in the month of April [1241]. For they had begged to be absolved *ad cautelam*, the Abbot and Archdeacon of St Albans and the Prior of Dunstable being appointed judges of the cause.

[The Commission delivered judgment on May 4, 1241, and absolved the monks. The latter were glad to give the requisite promises for the future, to rescue themselves from their uncomfortable position; but they continued to maintain that the censures had been in fact invalid, and that the present step was only taken "*ad cautelam*."]]

But their old persecutor, Master Simon Langton, Archdeacon of Canterbury, opposed this, appealing at once against it, asserting firmly that the letter of absolution had been nefariously obtained by implying what was false, and suppressing the truth. But they who had faithfully promised the king to elect Boniface as their Archbishop, as the king most earnestly entreated, laid a grave complaint before the king about the injury done them by Simon, and the evil he was plotting. And the king, siding with the monks, and accepting their promise to elect Boniface, severely threatened the same Archdeacon Simon, that unless he desisted at once from his rash purpose, he would be made to feel the king's indignation with effect. Which when the said Archdeacon Simon heard, knowing that the Pope would not in anything offend the king, and feeling himself to be now an old man, and not equal to a journey across the

Alps, he desisted from the purpose he had formed. But the Canterbury monks, finding that the Pope and the king favoured them in turn, and that each granted the other whatever was asked, having invoked the grace of the Holy Ghost and the favour of the king, elected as Pastor of their souls Boniface, Bishop-elect of Belley, a man of graceful stature and noble bearing, the uncle of Lady Eleanor, the illustrious Queen of the English, though entirely unknown to the aforesaid monks whether as to his learning or character or age, and (as it was said) by comparison with his predecessors the Archbishops of Canterbury, unequal to so great a dignity. But they were moved by this consideration, that if they elected another, the king, who obtained a favourable hearing of the Pope in all things, would find some exception, and would reject and nullify the election.

[The above election took place on June 10, 1241; but Pope Gregory died soon afterwards. His successor, Celestine IV., reigned only a few days, and it was left to Innocent IV. to confirm the election, which he did on September 16, 1243. Further difficulties arose as to the consecration of the new Archbishop, and eventually the Pope himself consecrated him at Lyons on January 15, 1245. His episcopate lasted twenty-five years, and there has been a constant *cultus* of his memory in Savoy ever since. He was beatified by Gregory XVI. in the first half of the nineteenth century.]

Miracles at Pontigny and elsewhere.

Chron. Maj. (iv., p. 102).

About that time the great and distinguished memory of Blessed Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the miracles of his sanctity, filled all the lands on this side of the Alps with glorious and happy tidings, so that by the unheard-of wonders which God deigned to work on his behalf, the times of the Apostles seemed to have been brought back. Whence, as though drawn by the odour of

his ointments,* Archbishops, Bishops, and great men, with an innumerable multitude of both sexes, hastened from the most distant parts to his tomb at Pontigny, devoutly to entreat the help of the same Edmund.

In England, also, at Catesby, in the house of nuns, where the said Archbishop Edmund had left his two sisters as religious, and by a charitable instinct gave to one of them his cloak, God deigned to work miracles so that the multitude of wonders which there shine forth would fill a long and special treatise.

Faustina MS. (Wallace, p. 623).

So many and such great miracles took place [at Pontigny] that it would take very long to tell them ; but it would be wrong to pass over all of them in silence. A few words must therefore be added, not to relate all of each kind, but the different kinds of those which take place at the invocation of Blessed Edmund in various parts of the world. The blind see, the lame walk, the dropsical are cured, lepers are cleansed, those born deaf now hear, those dumb from their mother's womb speak aright, paralytics grow strong, those possessed by evil spirits are freed, prisons are thrown open and chains loosened, those who suffer from quartan and other fevers are liberated therefrom. Some stricken with dangerous diseases, or afflicted with different and secret ills, or deprived of the use of their limbs and rendered motionless as logs of wood ; others who have become suddenly mad ; others again who have been brought to shame by fistula, or have been horribly disfigured by a loathsome tumour—all these have by the intercession of his merits been happily restored to health. Flux of

* Cant. iv. 10.

blood is checked, and toothache is relieved, and marks of the body depart without leaving any scar. Some crushed for a time by the burden of adversity, or on the point of falling into the depths of despair, rejoice at having found a sweet and consoling remedy when the memory of their holy father occurs to them. Thus some there are who, being weighed down with disease or threatened with danger, have invoked with humility the name of the servant of God—a name sweet to the angels, and odious to the evil one—and have been freed of all their evils, and have felt the powerful presence of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Petition for his Canonisation.

Letter from the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order
(Martène, iii., c. 1898).

To our Most Holy Father and Lord [Gregory], by the grace of God Sovereign Pontiff, Brother Bruno, Abbot of La Ferté, and the whole assembly of Abbots of the Chapter-General devoutly kiss thy sacred feet.

The merciful and gracious Lord, willing, according to His promise, to increase the glory of the Church and to make illustrious the name of Blessed Edmund, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury, has deigned to renew his former miraculous power in favour of those assembling in crowds before his tomb, in order that signs should be proved by other signs noised abroad far and wide, and that miracles which have gone before should be confirmed by other miracles of continual occurrence in the Church of Pontigny, belonging to our Order, in which he has chosen to be buried. This is now so gloriously shown forth that it cannot be concealed even in foreign countries by the darkness of ignorance, as we

have learnt in general chapter from the faithful narration of the venerable Abbot and Convent of the said house. Now, therefore, lest such a light of the Church should come to be hidden under a bushel, we have thought well to recommend the bearers of these presents, who are sent for this purpose to the feet of thy holiness, by the said venerable Abbot and Convent of Pontigny, begging with all humility and devotion that thou mayest deign to command some prudent men to make a diligent inquiry about the life and miracles of the said aforesaid venerable Father Edmund, that they may inform thy Holiness, as it is meet they should, more fully and truly about these things.

Given at the time of the General Chapter of the Cistercians, in the year of our Lord 1241.

[Similar letters were sent during the next few years from the Archbishop of York (Walter de Grey), the newly-elected Archbishop of Sens, the Archbishop of Tours, the Bishops of Bath, Chichester, Lincoln, London, Norwich, Rochester, Salisbury, Winchester and Worcester, in England, and of Auxerre, Bourges, Meaux and Senlis in France ; also from the University of Oxford, the Abbots of Merton, Abingdon, Reading, Westminster, Provins, and many more.

Pope Innocent IV. accordingly appointed a Commission of Investigation, consisting of the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of Senlis, and the Dean of Paris, instructing them to inquire into the evidence as to the life and miracles of St Edmund, and to report to him.]

The First Inquiry.

*Pontigny MS.** (Martène, iii., c. 1843).

Having therefore received this command, the aforesaid Archbishop of Armagh and the Dean of Paris (the Bishop of Senlis being absent with a lawful excuse) proceeded according to the directions given. Having called together

* The account which is quoted was written by Albert, Archbishop of Armagh, afterwards of Livonia ; see p. 146.

all those who were wanted in order to establish his virtue, and to prove his miracles, they appointed a day for taking at Pontigny the depositions of the witnesses of their truth, which, being confirmed by oath, and reduced to writing, they sent to the Apostolic See. An inquiry was also held in England by the venerable Fathers the Bishops of London* and Lincoln,† which was completed in the same manner and sent to the Papal Court. Some persons, also, in whom the miracles of bodily cures had been wrought, were brought into the presence of the Lord Pope. Having received, therefore, the report of the two inquiries, in France and in England respectively, the Lord Pope having diligently examined them, although unable, after a careful search, to discover any omission, nevertheless considered that, as in a similar case at another time, there had been too much haste for a matter of this kind, and it had not proceeded with such care and deliberation as was proper in such a case. Without rejecting the report thus sent, he considered and decreed that a new and fresh inquiry should be held, and for this reason, that in the former case many miracles had been proved, but not each one by many witnesses. In the second inquiry he decreed that fewer miracles should be examined, but that some witnesses, as well as those persons on whom the miracles had been performed, should present themselves in the apostolic presence. And these directions were sent both to England and to France.

The Second Inquiry.

Ibid.

These commands, therefore, the aforesaid Archbishop

* Fulk Basset, elected in 1241, on the death of Roger le Noir,

† Robert Grosseteste,

and his colleagues carried out with strict care. Although only a few miracles were considered, more witnesses than before were called about each, so that over one miracle nine or more witnesses were called. And in like fashion an inquiry was held in England by the venerable Father Richard, Bishop of Chichester,* and the Prior of Esseby, of the Order of St Augustine, and Friar Robert Bacon, then regent in the faculty of Theology at Oxford. And each inquiry was brought to a termination in each kingdom, and with much deliberation it was put together, and sent to the Apostolic See at the time of the Council of Lyons.† . . .

As soon as it was received, it was proposed before the Sovereign Pontiff and his brethren,‡ and before the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch and Aquileia, and before more than two hundred Primate, Archbishops, and Bishops, and many Abbots and Prelates, that such a work worthy of all encouragement ought not to be further postponed, but rather that such a glorious light of the Church should be placed on a candlestick, that there might be a new patron in heaven to protect the condition of the Church militant. And this was demanded by reason. For an important affair was being discussed in the council, and one which stood in need of a great intercessor, namely, that the Emperor Frederick, so wealthy and illustrious, and endued with worldly wisdom beyond measure, who had laid by such riches, and had so many friends and allies—he, I say, great and powerful though he was; on account of crimes which he had committed against the Church and against God, should be deprived of his power, and of the kingdom

* St Richard was consecrated Bishop of Chichester on March 5, 1245.

† A.D. 1245.

‡ *i.e.*, the Cardinals.

of Sicily and Jerusalem, of which kingdoms he was possessor at the same time, and therefore, perchance, from such and so great honours, and more than seemly wealth, had become inflated. In this cause, so difficult, yet so holy, it was desired, and not without reason, that the Blessed Father Edmund should be inscribed in the catalogue of the saints, that he might become a new helper and intercessor in heaven for these and other necessities of the Church. Many Bishops, therefore, loudly proclaimed that so it should be done, and kings and princes sent petitions by letter, or through their messengers.

[The council being already in progress, the Pope, according to the usual mode of procedure, appointed a Commission to examine into the matter and report to him. The Commission included two Cardinals, Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln, the celebrated Franciscan, Alexander de Hales, and two others. They reported favourably on the cause.]

Opposition to the Canonisation.

Ibid.

But alas! such is the infamy of the human intellect, that any good directed to the community, which people dare not to speak against in public, they do not cease to oppose in private. And this affair had most strenuous opponents and determined enemies. . . . Behold that great prince, the King of England, with his whole court, and the Archbishop's own community of Canterbury opposed it with all their might. The King of France,* however, put no obstacle in the way, but, with much devotion, worked piously in favour of it, and perchance on this account it made the more progress.

* St Louis,

But in the Roman court the beginning of the process concerning Blessed Edmund met with such contradiction and such manifest ill-will from the great officers of that court, that whatever could be written or said about his miracles seemed to those who did not believe like the ravings of madmen; whence the friends of the cause were thrown into terror and dismay, while their rivals seemed to prosper in their designs. I myself, who describe these things, though in a poor and untrained style, but truthfully, however, have heard a certain Cardinal speak thus: "Why this effort? why this toil? why waste time in vain? We believe not in your miracles, nor do we give them the authority of the Apostolic See; for signs have passed away, and tongues have ceased, and nothing remains but to pay regard to works, which must be examined at a future time. And I say (said he) that had not the Universal Church accepted the memory and story of Blessed Martin, I, at any rate, should say that Blessed Martin had never raised to life three dead persons. For the Lord Jesus never granted a like privilege even to Himself, Who is declared to have raised to life only three dead men when He sojourned upon earth." I boldly answer that this man had become a forgetful hearer of the Divine words in the Gospel, in which the Truth said, "He who believeth in me shall do the works that I do, and greater than these shall he do."* Such presumption was well punished in him. For being made Legate of the Roman Church, coming to Pontigny, he was altogether humbled, and prostrating himself on the earth, and even at the gates of our holy Father Edmund, confessing his error, he spoke publicly thus: "All that slandered thee

* John xiv, 12,

shall worship the steps of thy feet."* And that he might make fuller satisfaction for what he had done, he consecrated three altars in the same monastery in honour of the Blessed Father, in conjunction with certain other saints, and in future abstained from all opposition, and repented of what he had formerly done; which is also worthy of record.

The Promoters of the Cause are discouraged.

Ibid.

Nevertheless, as this opposition increased, at any rate from England and from the Apostolic See itself, although the cause had been three or four times brought to a completion, the Lord Pope withheld his approval from it. And then all the friends and proctors in the cause began almost to despair. And, indeed, not without reason; for the merits and miracles of our saint had passed through fire and water, and were not able as yet to be brought to a place of refreshment. And indeed they were tried like gold in the furnace, and the furnace of trial was heated sevenfold, and not even yet, as it was said, was all the dross eliminated and the gold left pure. There was apparently nothing left but to cancel what had already been done, to abandon the care they had employed, to cast away the money that had been spent, and in confusion and indignation of soul, to trample under foot all that had been written relating thereto. For it was said that a fresh inquiry must be made of those who were witnesses, and of the sick; and that there had not been produced at the same time those who had received healing of their diseases, and those who wished to prove a genuine cure: and it

* Isaias lx. 14.

appeared, therefore, that there was nothing left to be done, but that the work that had been piously undertaken should be entirely put aside and abandoned in the weariness of despair.

**Cardinal John encourages Bertrand to further
Endeavours.**

Ibid.

I, who was present myself, confess that I was among those who despaired, and all his other friends were dejected like myself, or perchance even more than I. But what is left when human counsel fails, but to trust to Divine counsel? For the Lord, who is nigh unto all who look upon Him, was with me, and steadfastly refused to allow so holy a work to be endangered. He raised up a voice of one crying in the wilderness. What that voice was is manifest according to the testimony of him who said, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness." Here it was John, the Precursor of the Lord, whose counterpart was John—the same in name, but different in person. He not only prepared the way for the Lord in His saint, but with a large heart repaired anew all the paths which lead to this work, and which search out the saint of the Lord, paths that were now almost destroyed and removed. For that large-hearted John, whose title was Cardinal Priest of St Lawrence in Lucina, saw how all those who had been zealous in the work had lost heart and had fallen into the depth of dejection, and that even that great Abbot of Clairvaux,* formerly the companion, secretary, and pupil of Blessed Father Edmund, the faithful witness of his great virtues, and an unwearied helper in this work, even

* Stephen of Lexington.

he had at that time given way, for he said, "There are with us three saints' bodies, renowned with many miracles, who have merited to be inscribed in the catalogue of saints; but seeing the difficulty which surrounds a work so illustriously and so clearly proved, however favourable our petition, we do not venture to put it forward, and we advise others in similar situation to abstain." Being led by the same considerations, the Abbot and Convent of Longuepont were afraid to re-open the cause of the canonisation of Brother Jôhn, though the proof of his miracles moved them to do so. Having seen this, I say, the aforesaid Cardinal John supported their failing hands, strengthened their weakness, and having summoned that single trusty Achates, upon whom the whole burden of the business had rested, that secretary of Blessed Father Edmund, I say, of whom we have made mention at the beginning,* spoke thus to him: "Fear not; be constant, and finish what thou hast begun. Go whithersoever the Lord Pope wills, and the Lord will be with thee wherever thou shalt go; and I will furnish thee with all things needful; nor will we desist, thou and I, till we bring to effect our holy purpose." From being sad, therefore, he became more joyful, and having heard these things, that most faithful prosecutor of the cause regained his hope, started upon his journey, and fortified once more by apostolic approbation, passing through France, came again to England. Then, in fulfilment of his vow, he took with him the witnesses themselves and their testimonies, and those proofs in which their testimony lay, as, for example, the persons themselves who had been cured; and being furnished

* Bertrand, who, after St Edmund's death, had become a Cistercian monk at Pontigny.

with all that was necessary both from England and France, with joy he once more went into the apostolic presence. Then, indeed, every one was silent, and the faces of all were eager. Who could say anything against this? But all were dumb; they ceased their bark, and forebore also the bite of envy, waiting to hear what the Sovereign Pontiff would declare concerning these things.

Final Inquiry.

Ibid.

But still the end was not yet. Listen therefore thou whoever thou art, in doubt and unwilling to believe unless thou mayest handle the matter itself. For thus it came to pass. Those persons who had been brought to the court, in whom the nature of the cure was more excellently manifest, were called to the houses of certain Cardinals, who carefully examined the places of the cures, and inquired diligently of the nature of the maladies under which they had suffered, and whether they could in any way have been restored to their former health by the art of medicine, without assigning it to the miraculous, and of the duration of time and the cognisance of other persons. The whole process was prolonged with the most searching scrutiny and inquiry, and finally they were taken into the presence of the Sovereign Pontiff, and there a most strict examination was performed. Thus, in order that there might be full belief about a certain person who had been a leper, it was commanded that his garments should be rent in front of his breast, so that it might be plainly proved whether the grace of healing which appeared in his face corresponded with the colour of his breast, lest he might have altered the colour of his face by trickery, in which case it would differ from

that of the breast. But without any deceit, the colour was found to be the same, that is, a healthy colour appeared both here and there. And it was found in like manner in the case of others. A trial was also made with his voice, for a certain hoarseness is wont to exist in the case of lepers ; but here the organ of a clear voice was proved before the Lord Pope. He proved that his body as well as his face was sound.

Canonisation of St Edmund.

Chron. Maj. (iv., p. 586).

And now the Lord Pope, fearing lest Blessed Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose canonisation had been so long delayed by the murmurings of his opponents, should visit him with some manifest calamity in punishment, enrolled him in the catalogue of the Saints by solemn canonisation, on the last Sunday before the Feast of Christmas, on which Sunday is sung *Gaudete in Domino*.*

Pontigny MS. (Martène, iii., c. 1851).

As the Sovereign Pontiff went in the middle, thronged about by a large crowd of Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, and other faithful, they came to the Church of St John Baptist, which is the primatial church of France and the metropolitan one of Lyons, and there he made his prayer ; and after a great quantity of candles had been lit, the Sovereign Pontiff was set upon his high throne, and the faithful being arranged on either side, silence was proclaimed, which in such a large multitude was difficult to enjoin, and still more difficult to enforce. Then brother Hugh, Cardinal Priest of St Sabina, acting as the notary or Archdeacon of the Roman Church,

* This is a slight inaccuracy. The Sunday known as *Gaudete* is the third of Advent, the second before Christmas.

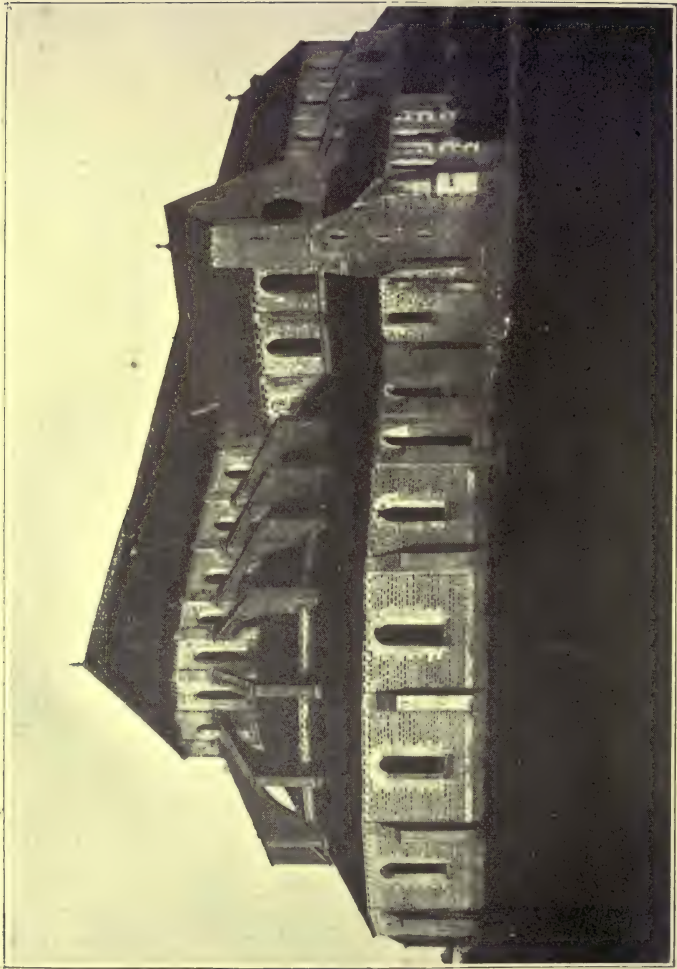
addressed the people, reciting in order from the very beginning the great virtues and notable miraculous signs with which Blessed Edmund, the Confessor of Christ, was adorned in life and after death, and the proofs and witnesses above all suspicion to his sanctity, and the renown of his miracles, like gold tried in the furnace, approved without any possibility of doubt by all the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops. For the previous Saturday, the Lord Pope, having called the Archbishops to the presence of the Cardinals, according to the rule previously arranged, asked questions about the several miracles; and each one being questioned, could answer nothing but what the genuine simplicity of truth demanded, namely, that the miracles which had been set before them and explained had been so well proved, that if any one should be bold enough to call them in question, he would without doubt be wanting in sense, and stand in need of correction. For, indeed, had the merits of the ancient holy fathers been so examined, or so tried and proved, with difficulty would any one of them have arrived at the point of canonisation. Therefore, on the previous day, the Sabbath eve, having heard the will and advice of each one who counselled that the affair should be no longer delayed, lest through the delay some prejudice should accrue to the Church, a general session was held, in order that on the following day, that is, on the day itself on which is sung *Gaudete in Domino semper*, joy and exultation, rejoicing and thanksgiving, might be poured out by the universal assembly of the faithful collected together in that place, with all reverence and worthy praise, to God the Father and His only Son, with the Holy Spirit, for having established such a patron of the Church in the heavenly court.

These and other things having been arranged by the aforesaid Cardinal Priest, the Lord Pope thereupon added these words: "Since there has been found a servant so faithful and prudent, placed over the family of the Lord, we by the authority of Almighty God the Father, and of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, have decreed that this blessed father Edmund be enrolled in the catalogue of saints." As soon as the sentence was by God's will given forth and declared, what else remained, save to chant praises to God, to intone the angelic hymn *Te Deum* with voices loud and clear, and with devout eagerness, with tears intermingling with the strains of their joy, again and again to chant *Te Deum laudamus*?

King Henry rejoices at the News of the Canonisation.

Chron. Maj. (iv., p. 586).

Which when the Lord King heard, he rejoiced exceedingly. And having been informed thereof, he commanded that many candles should be lit, and that all the clergy of the Chapel-royal should put on their festal vestments, and with all solemnity celebrate the Mass whose introit is *Gaudeamus*.



View of Apse, Abbey Church, Pontigny.

CHAPTER IX

CULTUS OF ST EDMUND.—FIRST AND SECOND TRANSLATION OF THE RELICS

Opening of the Tomb.—Letter of St Richard.

[AFTER Canonisation follows the Translation of the Relics of the new saint ; that is, their elevation to a permanent position of honour, in which they are henceforth to be venerated. The opening of the tomb here described by St Richard seems to have been a preliminary and informal one, to ascertain the condition of the body. The formal opening is described later on.]

Cotton MS. (Wallace, p. 583).*

R[ichard], by the grace of God, Bishop of Chichester, to his venerable friend in the Lord, R., Abbot of Begeham, greeting. In order that thou mayest be informed of the translation and condition of the body of Blessed Edmund, thou must know that on the day after the Feast of the Most Holy Trinity last past, namely, in the year 1247, on May 27, when the tomb of our holy father Edmund was first opened, in the evening, in the presence of only a few, we found the state of the body whole and entire, giving forth a most sweet

* This letter is also given by Matthew Paris, in his *Additamenta*; and in one or two cases some obvious misreadings in the *Cotton MS.* have been corrected here by comparison; but otherwise, the form in which it is given in the *Cotton MS.* has been adhered to. There is considerable divergence between the two, especially about the middle of the letter.

odour; the head with its hair, and the face fresh coloured, and the body with its limbs complete, entire, and giving forth a heavenly odour above any balm or incense. The nose alone had suffered some injury, being weighed down by a metal plate pressing upon it. The whole body, and especially the face, was found as though steeped in oil, and unharmed. And this we rightly interpret as a sign of his virginal integrity, which he vowed when placing his ring on the statue of the Blessed Virgin, and which he ever preserved. By the oil, or the appearance of oil, we can understand as signified the grace of character and doctrine and of pre-eminent knowledge with which he shone. For grace was poured abroad from his lips, in his lectures, his disputations, his sermons, and his teaching. Therefore God hath anointed him with the oil of gladness above the lecturers and doctors of his time. We found also other notes of his virtues, which when opportunity arrives, we will recount to thee privately and in full, which the number of events happening does not now permit to be committed to writing. But let not thy discretion doubt what has been said; for we speak what we know, and we bear witness to what we have seen. With our own hands we have touched his holy body; his head, with its hair lying thick and uninjured, with a comb we have carefully and reverently, and even joyfully, combed and arranged. On the Sunday next before the Feast of Blessed Barnabas,* in the presence of the Lord King of the French and his holy mother, and his brethren the Counts, and many other great men, as well as the two Cardinals, that is, of

* The Feast of St Barnabas is on June 11. The previous Sunday, the day of the Translation, was June 9, 1247.

Albano and the Legate of France, with Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and other venerable Prelates who assisted, of whose number we are ignorant, at Pontigny, by the will of God, with joy and glory untold, and the great praise of God, was celebrated the Translation of our most blessed father Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Confessor, to the no small increase of honour to our nation.

Solemn Translation of the Relics.

Abridged History of the Translation.

And on that solemn and joyful day, there came together many rich and poor, old and young, men and women of every condition of life—indeed, a countless multitude. Among them were present the Lord Cardinals, Peter of Albano, formerly Bishop of Rouen,* and Odo, Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum, and Legate of the Holy See;† also the Archbishop of the Primatial See of Bourges, the Archbishops of Sens and Bordeaux, and he who was formerly Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of Chichester, who in times past was Chancellor of the saint; the Bishops of Troyes, Auxerre, Orleans, and Chaume, and other Bishops, and many Abbots, including those of Pontigny and Clairvaux, with some of their fellow Abbots and Prelates, and a larger number of prelates, clerics, and religious, of whom some waited in the church for the arrival of those who were coming, while others hastened forward and informed the King of France that the procession, now already reverently forming, awaited his coming that it might meet him

* Peter de Colmieu, Archbishop of Rouen, 1237; Cardinal Bishop of Albano, 1245-1253.

† Odo de Châteauroux, a French Cistercian, Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum (Frascati), 1244-1273.

with joy. But the king, with his wonted kindness and humility, replied that he who came as a pilgrim was not worthy to be thus received with honour; but if it were their good pleasure to pay this reverent homage to his mother, it would be wholly to his satisfaction, and would be considered as paid to his own person. And as he wished, so it was done. There were, then, at this great festival, in addition to the above-mentioned Prelates, the holy King Louis of France, his venerable mother Queen Blanche, the king's three brothers, Robert, Lord of Artois, Alphonsus of Poitou, and Charles, soon after Duke of Provence and Anjou; and their sister Isabella, who was both daughter and sister to a king, and in no wise beneath a queen, for she was joined to Christ the King in pure virginity. It would be difficult to tell how many princes, barons, knights, king's councillors, and noble women came together, and of the great crowd that followed. When the procession was over, and the blessing had been given, all quietly returned to their appointed hostels. And after the evening meal, they took counsel after what manner and at what time the good undertaking so well begun might be brought to completion.

Now that day was Saturday, and on the morrow the first feeling of joy was greatly increased, for the memory of the resurrection of our Lord, and of the passion of Saints Prime and Felician * occurred to pious and faithful minds. And so it was determined that the Translation of our holy father should be carried out with honour that day. Those persons to whose care were entrusted the arrangements of the ceremony came together, and taking counsel, decided that throughout the following night there should be a solemn vigil. The watches were to be kept around

* June 9 is the Feast of these Saints.

the church, and all care was to be taken lest anything untoward should happen to disturb the minds of the people who continued in prayer. By a special privilege, with the sanction of the Holy See, permission was granted to persons of both sexes to go to and fro in the chapels, though this is against the Constitution of the Order. And although men and women took the opportunity to walk where they would, throughout the whole night nothing of a disorderly or unpleasant nature occurred. Some watched with the greatest fervour, others spent their time in prayer, others again wandered with devotion from chapel to chapel, awaiting with great longing the time and hour for the exposing of the holy body. When all had fatigued themselves with this holy work, it was announced that before daylight the church would be shut up, and guardians put here and there, as many as necessary, to keep guard lest any onrush of the crowd should disturb the due order of the exposition. Then it came to pass, as was necessary, that when every one, tired out by devotion or curiosity, was sleeping his first sleep, early in the morning all those who had a right to be present were awakened, that is, the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, the Abbots, and the brethren of the monastery, upon whom, indeed, the chief share of the matter rested. And for the due carrying out of their purpose, they formed a procession in the usual way, with sacred vestments, and lights, and incense, which procession included those who had waited with much eagerness to behold the sight, for which purpose they had come. Then the brethren of the monastery, who had been told and instructed beforehand, raised the stone. And behold, there appeared a sign wonderful before heaven and earth: a

body pure and without decay ; a body in which our Lord Jesus Christ made manifest the truth of His Gospel, because not one hair of the head had perished, but every hair, each single one, clung to him. And all present, when they saw this, broke forth into the praises of God, singing with joy and with many tears the *Te Deum*. When the hymn of praise was over, and all those near had seen the body, it was carried to the high altar with much pomp and honour. On the following night it was taken from the altar, and hidden in a secret place, known as the upper sacristy, for it was greatly feared lest in so vast a concourse some should tamper with part of the sacred body, or that they should stealthily take away the fringe of his garments, whence the virtue of healing might come forth. For so numerous were the pilgrims that there was no room for them within the enclosure of the monastery, nor indeed in the houses round about. And thus it became necessary to make sheds, and cover them with foliage, within the precincts of the monastery. Great care was taken to prevent the breaking out of any unwonted trouble, in consequence of the number of persons assembled together.

Dispute about the Shrine.

Ibid.

But whilst the night went on its peaceful course, and when all had retired, civil and internal strife broke out among the community, though this was due to devotion rather than to malice. The Abbot and the Prior for the time being, with certain others, thought that the body of the saint should rest in a stone sarcophagus, with perhaps a little sculpture or painting by way of decoration. On the other hand, many of the brethren affirmed that a

common tomb, one only a little higher than a burial place for ordinary bishops, did not become the memory of so great a father, for this could not be properly called a burial, but rather a translation. For he, the noblest stone in all Sion, placed in his position with the approval of the Holy See, ought rather to be surrounded by gold and precious stones. For such a one, without doubt, a resting-place should be built which should be worked with all skill, and in every precious material, whether of the free gift of nature, or of the handicraft of man. They asserted this still more strongly when the Lord Bishop of Albano, deputed by the Apostolic See for the cause of St Edmund, for this very purpose, commanded by word of mouth and in his letters that some work in gold and precious stones should be prepared to satisfy the devotion of the faithful when they offered their gifts, inasmuch as an offering would greatly further the devout work, and would promise the fulfilment of their hope. Hence, to go against this order or precept would be as a refusal to obey the apostolic commands.

Others replied that the Cistercian Order had been founded upon humility, and ought to extend this humility to all its deeds, lest the scandal-mongers should find in them material to show to the eyes of the onlookers. Moreover, some objected on the ground that our Lord Jesus Christ, when dead for the salvation of all mankind, had chosen a lowly burial-place, and that, after His example, the holy bodies of our fathers Malachy, formerly Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland, and the blessed Abbot Bernard, the great founder of the Cistercian Order, had been buried, although with all reverence and honour, nevertheless in mausoleums of plain marble, and without gold or precious stones. Thus, indeed, that

moderation, which is worthy of all praise, avoids things mean and debased ; but also, in like manner, things unnecessarily magnificent are rejected, and the middle course is approved by all. To this, again, it was answered on the other side, that the above-mentioned fathers, men of the greatest sanctity, were willing to receive in a place, so renowned for its holiness, a burial becoming to themselves and to their Order. But since we are to be guided by actual examples, it will be no less good to compare the tomb of our holy father Edmund to that of his predecessor, Blessed Thomas the Martyr, which is so rich and magnificent that I know not whether its like can be found in all the world—a fact or assertion which can be proved better by actually seeing it than by any attempt at description.

These, together with many other reasons, were urged, and so bitter did the dispute become, that some indeed wished to leave in a body, had not Divine Providence ordained it otherwise. For certain Bishops were called, amongst whom was the disciple whom Edmund loved,* for he knew his most intimate thoughts. Their opinion about the question at issue was asked ; but amongst the Bishops themselves divers opinions prevailed. The above-mentioned disciple bore himself as a true arbitrator in this part of the quarrel, for he concealed his opinion as though he were but a novice, until the dissensions should come to an end, when it might appear more clearly what ought to be done. For the Abbot, Prior, and Cellarer, and those in agreement with them, prevailed in their opinion, because they had more authority, though perhaps less cogency in their reasons. They took the body and placed it in the said stone coffin. And thus the quarrel finished

* St Richard of Chichester.

and in some way was lulled to quiet, though most fruitful in future discord. There were some who said, "Let it be so for the present, let the body lie there; matters will soon take a different turn, and there will be another Translation most certainly." And so, indeed, by the Providence of God, all disputes settled down peacefully and entirely to the honour of His chosen one.

And when the Abbots of Citeaux, La Ferté, and others whose duty it was, were summoned for a visitation, they came to Pontigny and held an inquiry. They found that the Prior had shown himself too bitter in the causes of trouble related above, and for other legitimate reasons they removed him from the office of Prior. After a little time, the Abbot of Pontigny of his own accord resigned his office. Before his resignation, he took counsel of the chapter, and with the assent of the chapter, he made him Prior who had been the disciple and fellow-exile of our holy father St Edmund.* The Abbot seemed to be moved by a good reason, that he who in life could not be torn from his lord and father, was unwilling to be separated from him in death until he should be taken to heaven, like Eliseus, who felt such great love for Elias; and also, that he might find in his priorship a position of permanence, and of standing, and likewise have a legitimate and just excuse from withdrawing himself from the tumult of business which at one time called him to the Papal court, and at another time to England. He was, indeed, unwilling to undertake an office of such responsibility. The following causes, however, overcame his reluctance: in the first place, his presence was necessary for the carrying out of many things yet unfinished—in particular, the completion of the shrine. In the second place, no

* Bertrand.

person of distinction would be able henceforth to call him to the court. Then there was a third reason which must be mentioned. It is related how once in England, our blessed father, Bertrand's own lord and master, spoke to this disciple when he wished once to leave him, at least in body if not in spirit, and said, "You cannot possibly depart from me until you are made Abbot or Prior." And he, mindful of his master's words—for he knew that they carried weight—had hoped that the prediction had been fulfilled when soon afterwards he was elected Prior of Dover, and then a little later, and with greater solemnity, Abbot of Tre Fontane. And when, having no wish for these posts, he refused both, he had hoped that what he had heard was fulfilled, and that by his caution he had evaded what had been offered. But when he saw that his calling to the first and second post was not suitable for him, and that the prediction was to be fulfilled by a third calling, he consented of necessity to remain with his master, and to accept what was laid upon him, with fear, indeed, but moved by the love of his blessed father, who had foretold it to him.

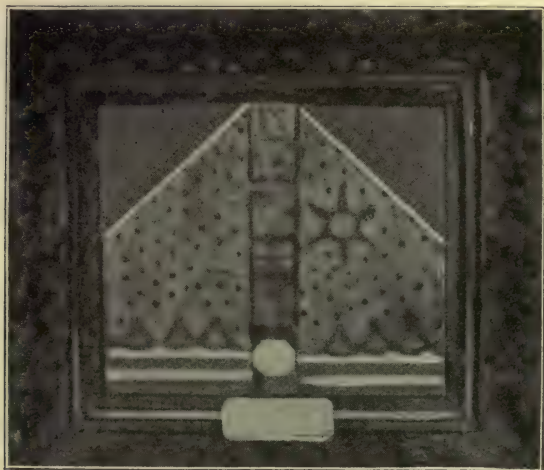
It will be told in what follows what great good came out of the events we have just narrated. For the new Prior was forthwith installed, and at once hastened to Rome. There he settled his accounts, and being freed from all obligations, returned to the monastery of which he had been made Prior. And he brought with him gracious letters of command from the Holy See, to the effect that everything which the Bishop of Albano had done or ordered concerning the sarcophagus of our holy father, whether touching the ornamentation, or offerings, or privileges, or any regulation which the said Bishop of Albano might decree, should hold good and should have

the approval of the Apostolic See. The said Prior on his return had a shrine constructed of marvellous workmanship, which is praised by all the faithful who come in pilgrimage.

Second Translation of the Relics.

Ibid.

It was wisely arranged that on the same day on which the former Translation was so solemnly made, on that same



St Edmund's Mitre.

day two years later,* the second Translation should take place, so that by the coincidence of the date, according to the desire of those assisting at it, the earlier and later ones might be as one. At this second Translation, which in truth was one with the first, being simply a further act of devotion towards the Confessor of the Lord, there were present venerable men, renowned for their holiness; the

* June 9, 1249.

Bishop of the diocese, namely, Auxerre, and that of Orleans, from France, and those of Norwich* and Chichester† from England, so that it might be truly said that by the consent of these two different kingdoms the word of truth should stand and be an example of true proof, although many other trustworthy witnesses, who were above all suspicion, were present, who could give a certain account of what they saw and heard.

Separation of the Right Arm from the Body.

Ibid.

And when the country people learnt that the body of the blessed saint had been removed from its former position, and had been exposed to sight, they all flocked together, and on every side the rumour spread that the Lord was showing to the faithful the time and place in which those looking with the longing eyes of faith should now see what they had so long desired. And not only because of the numbers who actually came, but also because of the weariness of awaiting new-comers, the brethren of the monastery were weighed down with very great fatigue; and being unable to bear such an in-rush of people, greater than there had ever been before, they were compelled to try and find some remedy against their importunity. Those, therefore, who had given them occasion to come began to consider whether it might not be prudent now to keep out the multitude.

They had given them the occasion thus. In order that the truth of the incorruption of the body might be made manifest, two monks held up the arm of the

* William de Raleigh.

† St Richard.

blessed father, lifted it out of the shrine, and put it before the faithful for them to kiss; and when these two were tired, others succeeded them, and then others again as these became tired, and allowed them to take their place. And then, so great a multitude came together (anxious to see what was put before their own eyes, as above explained) that the brethren relieving each other in succession were hardly able to support such labour, and in a marvellous manner the hand of a dead man was able to tire and weary out the hands of living men. Thus it was perchance by the Divine will that it so turned out that from its continual movement the arm itself of our blessed father Edmund began to be loosened from its joint, and thus, in sympathy with those who were wearied, he himself also assumed the appearance of weariness. Which some of the brethren seeing, and being moved by the prudent consideration that the devotion of the faithful might grow cold if they ceased—for that holy thing had been shown with great blessing to many, while others were still coming, some with greater toil from afar, and would be grieved if it was withheld from them—and fearing that continual movement of one part might cause injury to the whole body, they carefully separated the blessed arm of our holy father, so that others who should come might receive its blessing, and carefully replaced the rest of the body in the new shrine.

And now, behold an outcry was raised, and some of the brethren began to blame themselves for the good work, and what was done for a pious motive they turned into evil. Nevertheless, as the outcry had no reasonable foundation, it easily died down, and there ever remained great rejoicing among the people that Blessed Edmund, the Confessor of the Lord, had been translated into

another place, where he might be honoured with greater reverence, and that the place in which he lay might be venerated with worthy devotions. For when it was heard in England what had been done, the King and Queen, the Earl Richard, and other earls and barons and nobles of both sexes, sent precious gifts, so that that noble tomb might be adorned with costly offerings; and the Bishops in like manner offered large presents, namely, statues representing Pontiffs of life-like workmanship, which can be seen on the slabs surrounding the sarcophagus.

The Gift of Earl Richard.

Chron. Maj. (iv., p. 632).

And when these things came to the ears of Earl Richard, by the report of truthful and trustworthy men, heaving heavy sighs, he said: "Alas that it was not granted to us from above, that is to say, my brother the king and myself, to assist at so joyful a Translation! For the saint was our own by birth, by education, and by his high office; although by a misfortune, for which our sins are responsible, he was taken away from England. Nevertheless, what I failed to do by my presence there, I will do to him while absent." From thenceforward, therefore, he began to love him more intimately, and to honour him more devoutly. And when he was brought to the point of death by a grave and secret illness, having with faith invoked his aid, he was happily delivered. Whence, in thanksgiving to God and to Blessed Edmund, he undertook to have made at his own expense, and of most costly workmanship, a fourth part, namely the front, of his shrine.

Cultus of St Edmund.

[The Feast of St Edmund was first kept at Oxford by the desire of King Henry, who was holding a Parliament there in Low Week, 1247. The ordinary Feast was fixed for November 16, the day of his death, in all the dioceses of England, and some of those in France.* It was likewise kept in all the monasteries of the Cistercian Order; and at Pontigny, in addition, the Feast of the Translation was observed on June 9.

In the following places there are known to have been chapels dedicated to St Edmund: The Cathedrals of Canterbury, Rochester, Salisbury, and Chichester, Westminster Abbey, Calne Church, and the Convent Chapel of Catesby. There were no doubt very many others throughout the country. At Salisbury there was also a collegiate church for secular canons dedicated to his honour, erected and endowed by Walter de la Wyle (Bishop of Salisbury, 1263-1270), and a church was consecrated in his honour at Dover, with a burial-ground for the poor. Finally, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, built a chapel in honour of St Edmund, on the spot where his home had stood at Abingdon, and where he first saw the light.]

Indulgences granted to Pilgrims to Pontigny.—Letter of Archbishop Boniface.

Martène, iii., c. 1917.

Boniface, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, to all the faithful of Christ who shall see these presents: grace in this present time, and glory in the future.

Whereas it is our wish to pour forth freely on the faithful people the grace which we have freely received from God, we mercifully grant to all who have with true contrition confessed their sins, and who shall have come with fitting devotion and for the sake of pilgrimage to the Church of St Mary of Pontigny, in which the relics of blessed father Edmund, our predecessor, repose, at whose Canonisation at Lyons we assisted, or to any who

* In the Sarum Processional, an interesting little rite is given for a procession to the altar of the Saint on his Feast-day: see the *Edmundian*, December 1901, p. 14.

shall have conferred their goods on the same church, with pious devotion, and trust in the all-powerful clemency of God, forty days of penance due to them, provided that the Bishop of the Diocese shall see fit to approve of this our indulgence. Given at Lyons, in the year of the Lord 1246, in the month of December.

Leave granted to English Women to enter the Church at Pontigny.

Martène, iii., c. 1924.

Brother John, by the mercy of God, Cardinal Priest of the title of St Lawrence in Lucina, to our beloved in Christ, the Abbot and Convent of the Monastery of Pontigny, of the Cistercian Order, in the Diocese of Auxerre, health in the Lord.

We deem it right that fitting honour should be paid by the faithful to the saints of God, and that the devotion should enjoy the attraction of certain spiritual privileges. Since, therefore, some women from England, and even from more distant parts of the earth, inflamed by the zeal of faith and devotion, come in pilgrimage to visit the place where the most precious body of Blessed Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, reposes in your church, in consideration of their devotion, the length of journeys which they undertake, and the labours and difficulties they undergo, in order that such may obtain therefrom gladness of spirit, by the command of the Lord Pope, given to us by word of mouth, we permit by the authority of these presents, that all such women, when accompanied by other women of good repute, may enter the said place, and there, in humility of spirit, offer to God the sacrifice of the prayer of their lips, any contrary custom or statute of the Cistercian Order or of your

monastery, whether confirmed by apostolic authority, or in whatsoever way established, notwithstanding. . . . It is our will, however, that the said women, even though they be of the nobility, should not appear in presence of the Convent in the cloister, and should neither eat nor sleep within the precincts of the monastery. It shall be lawful, however, for them to enter the chapter room of the said monastery for the sake of asking the suffrages of your prayers. We have caused the foregoing to be done for the increase of the glory of the Confessor, and the devotion of the faithful, and we confirm it with the authority of our seal. Given at Naples on the 9th day of April [1255], in the first year of the pontificate of Pope Alexander IV.

King Henry III. visits Pontigny.—His Gifts to St Edmund's Shrine.

Chron. Maj. (v., p. 228).

And about that time, namely, during Lent [1251], the Abbot of Westminster, at the wish and command of the king, secretly crossed the seas. And there were those who said that the Lord King had formed a purpose to go abroad and to travel as a pilgrim to Pontigny, so that he might there bring about a reconciliation with Blessed Edmund. For he was well aware that he had injured him in manifold ways; when in company with the Legate Otho he had wounded the Archbishop, his own Confessor, even to bitterness of spirit, and had been the cause of his being driven abroad into exile, for which reason he feared the Divine vengeance. But Earl Richard would not consent to his journey, of which he had such suspicions.

[Apparently, therefore, the king did not visit Pontigny at that time. Three years later, however, being in France, he found means to carry out his pilgrimage.]

Chron. Maj (v., p. 475).

And [King Henry] coming to Pontigny, whereas he was ill, and praying with devotion at the tomb and shrine of St Edmund, received the grace of health. He made an offering, therefore, of a pall to cover the tomb, and other royal and costly gifts.

Endowment of Pontigny by the King of England.

Martène, iii., c. 1226.

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, to all to whom these presents may come, greeting.

Be it known to you that we have given and conceded, and in this* our writing confirmed, for ourselves and our heirs, to our beloved in Christ, the Abbot and Convent of Pontigny 20 marks sterling, to be received from the lands of our city of Canterbury, every year in perpetuity, at the time of Easter, by the hands of our bailiffs of the same city, in order to provide four torches to be continually alight in their church at Pontigny, in front of the shrine of Blessed Edmund, the Confessor, there. And if, perchance, it should happen that the said Abbot and Convent of Pontigny should take away the said four torches, the said 20 marks a year shall be taken away from them, so indeed that they shall receive nothing of these 20 marks so long as the torches are not found continually burning. . . . Given by our own hand at Bruey, on the 4th day of November, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign.

Death of St Richard.

Life of St Richard (Bollandists, April, i., p. 281).

[In the year 1251, St Richard] came to Dover, and was received in the house called "the Lord's Guest House"

as a guest. And at the request of the master of the said guest house, he solemnly consecrated a certain church, with a cemetery built for the burial of the poor, in honour of his former master, Blessed Edmund, his own patron. And he told them during the course of his sermon the same day how, ever since he had been a Bishop, he had ardently longed with all his might to consecrate at least one church in honour of the said Blessed Edmund, before his last day should close in upon him. And then he said : " I give thanks to God, who has not refused me the desire of my soul. And now I know (said he) that the time for me to put off this tabernacle is at hand, and I beg for the support of your prayers." The very next day which followed that of the dedication of the church, although weighed down by the aforesaid labours and by sickness, being unaware at his usual hour for rising that his strength was giving way, in the morning he entered the church and began to recite his office. But when the time came for him to hear Mass, owing to his increasing illness, his limbs became too weak to support him, and he fell fainting on the ground. He was at once lifted up by his attendants, who carried him to his bed and laid him thereon. Then he told a certain William, his chaplain, with whom he was very intimate, that he should not recover from this sickness, and commanded that everything necessary for his funeral should be carefully prepared. And to Master Simon de Terringes he indicated the exact day of his death. . . . [And on that day], as he sighed devoutly, and uttered words of prayer in presence of religious, priests, clerics, and faithful laymen, who stood around, Blessed Richard gave up his soul to his Creator, to be united to the heavenly citizens above. He passed away from this world in the fifty-sixth year of his age, the ninth of his

episcopate, on April 3, about the hour of midnight, at which hour the heavenly spouse is described as about to come to the nuptials. And after his death, his holy body, oppressed by vigils, broken down through the hard earth on which he had so often lain, emaciated with fastings, and weakened with many austerities, appeared bright beyond the wont of humanity. And when his body, having been fittingly placed and enclosed in a coffin, arrayed in the pontifical vestments, was brought into the aforesaid church, which he had just dedicated, from all sides people flocked together to assist at the obsequies of a man worthy of such veneration. And each one thought himself fortunate could he but touch the bier or handle even the hem of his sacred vestments. Rings and other ornaments which had touched the sacred body they considered as thereby sanctified, and kept them as relics. And since he had bequeathed his body for burial to the Church of Chichester, to Chichester it was carried, and in the church itself, in front of the altar of Blessed Edmund, which he had himself dedicated on the north side of the church, in a lowly spot, it was interred; where many marvellous miracles to the glory of God continually take place.

Death of Former Pupils of St Edmund.

ST THOMAS OF HERTFORD.

Chron. Maj. (v., p. 383).

In the year [1253], on the Octave of St Lawrence,* died at his archdeaconry Thomas of Hertford, Archdeacon of Northumberland, brother of the Lord Abbot of St Albans. His end was holy and blessed, and he was fortified with all that concerns the devout passing of a Christian soul. He

* August 17.

was formerly a pupil in the school of Blessed Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, and ever remained his intimate friend. Hence he grew like unto him, even to his death, and even as did Master Richard, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, of whom we have spoken above, he strove to follow in his footprints, step by step. . . . These three saintly children of England, Edmund, Richard, and Thomas, confessors of God, we believe to be now enjoying for evermore the glory of the Most Holy Trinity.

SEWAL, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

Chron. Maj. (v., p. 691).

And about the Feast of the Ascension,* [1258], the Archbishop of York, in order that together with the Lord he might also ascend, and by his ascent might speed from the prisonhouse of the body even to heaven, whereas he had striven manfully according to his strength against the tyranny of the Roman curia, worn out by many tribulations, crowned by his merits, exchanged, as is verily believed, the life of this world for the kingdom of heaven. And this Archbishop Sewal, following straitly in the path traced out for him by Blessed Edmund, inasmuch as he had been his pupil in the schools, his scholar and his fellow-student, strove to gain a happy resemblance and likeness unto him in all things. Nor do I think it should be passed over how Blessed Edmund, when lecturer in theology at Oxford, was wont to say to his devout pupil: "O Sewal, Sewal, thou wilt depart from this world a martyr, assailed even unto death either by the sword, or at least by heavy and intolerable tribulations in this world. Nevertheless, let Him be thy consolation who inspired His psalmist to say,

* May 2.

“Many are the afflictions of the just, but out of them all the Lord will one day deliver them.” For it is known beyond a doubt that many have passed away from this world as martyrs without the shedding of blood, even as St John the Evangelist, and many more besides.

[St Edmund's two Dominican pupils and intimate friends, Robert Bacon and Richard Fishacre, both died in 1248.]

Death of St Edmund's Sisters.*

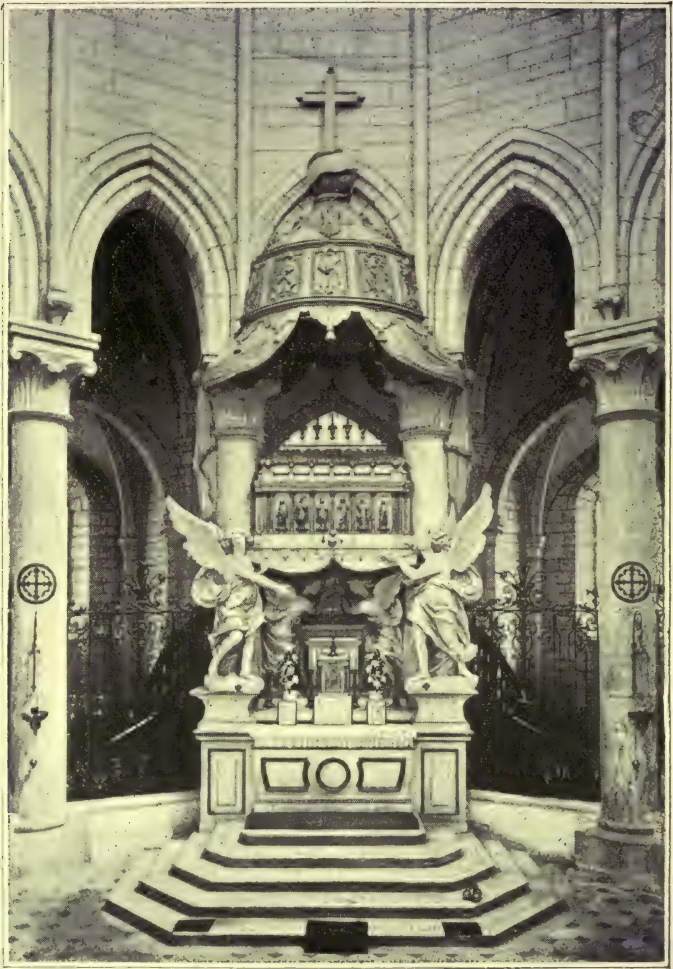
Chron. Maj. (v., p. 621).

And about the same time [1257] died Margaret, Prioress of Catesby, sister of Blessed Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, a woman of great holiness, through whose distinguished merits miracles have been made gloriously manifest.

[The other sister, Alice, seems to have lived till the year 1270.]†

* See Appendix B. (2).

† Wallace, p. 39.



Shrine of St Edmund (Modern).

EPILOGUE

LATER HISTORY OF THE ABBEY AND SHRINE AT PONTIGNY

THE devotion of the people of England to St Edmund lasted long after his canonisation, and numbers of pilgrims continued to come to Pontigny, which we are told formed a convenient halting-place for those going on pilgrimage either to Rome or to the shrine of St James at Compostella, being four days' easy journey from London.* The influx of pilgrims was, however, stopped by the long war with France, 1340-1453. At one period the English troops actually occupied Auxerre. Even during the war, the kings of England continued to send money to keep the four torches burning before the shrine, and the endowment of the Archbishops of Canterbury † was regularly paid; but the pilgrims ceased to come, and the connection between Pontigny and England practically came to an end at this time. When peace was restored, the tradition had died out, while on the advent of the Reformation, the royal candles ceased to burn, and the endowment from Canterbury was no longer paid.

The French continued to come long afterwards. The following document, granting an endowment from Louis

* *Pontigny MS.* (Martène, iii., c. 1825).

† See p. 278.

XI., King of France, gives interesting incidental evidence of the devotion to the saint towards the end of the fifteenth century : *

“Louis, by the grace of God, King of France. We hereby make known for all time, present and future, that we bear in mind the great benefits and preservation which God, our Creator, has, so we firmly believe, conferred on our person, and that of our children, and the protection and defence of our kingdom, lands and manors, at the intercession and prayer of the glorious saint and Archbishop, St Edmund of Pontigny, in whom we have a singular confidence, and for this reason we have several times gone in pilgrimage to the spot where his sacred body reposes, in order that our said Creator may preserve us and keep us in health, at his intercession, more and more for the time to come; in thanksgiving for these things, and moved by other grave reasons and considerations, we have given, delivered, presented, brought and left to the Abbot and Convent of the said Archbishop, St Edmund of Pontigny . . . all the vines which we hold and possess as our own, on the land and vineyard of Talen, for the said Abbot and Convent, and their successors in the same Abbey, to have and to hold, and to possess and to cultivate, and henceforward to hold for themselves, and to take, gather, remove, and collect for themselves, by their own hands or those of their agents entrusted and deputed thereto, in perpetuity and for ever, to arrange and dispose of at their good pleasure and will, as their own domain and inheritance, for this year and for all future time, to whatever value or price they may rise, as a pledge of what

* *Cartulary of Pontigny*, ii., p. 303.

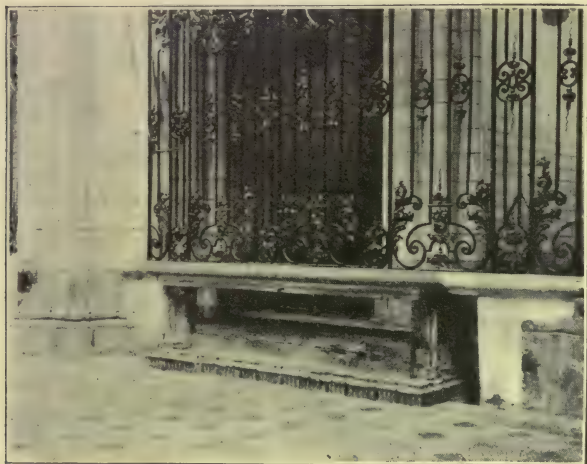
we owe to God and to the said Bishop St Edmund of Pontigny, and to the said Abbey, which we have dedicated to the Abbot and Convent, and which of our own more full favour we offer as a pledge; in return wherefor the Abbot and Convent of the same Abbey shall be bound to pray to God, to our Lady, and to my lord, the said St Edmund of Pontigny, for our good estate, for the prosperity and health of our most dear and beloved son, the Dauphin of Vienne, and for our cherished and much loved consort, the Queen. . . . Given at Artois, in Savoy, in the month of April, in the year of salvation 1482, the twenty-first year of our reign, after Easter. (Signed) LOUIS."

The Abbey of Pontigny did not escape the troubles of the religious wars of the sixteenth century, and it was the less ready to meet them, inasmuch as it was already decaying from within. The community had become reduced in numbers and relaxed in discipline. In 1516 the law was passed by which the King of France asserted the right to elect Bishops and Abbots, and in some cases Priors; and Pontigny, from its rich estates and endowments, became one of the chief objects of ambition. There were, indeed, only four "Commendatory Abbots" (as they were called) of Pontigny; but these four ruled during a period of eighty years, during which events of the greatest importance to the monastery took place. The Abbots included some distinguished men, of noble family—notably Cardinal Belley, Dean of the Sacred College, Bishop of Paris, and at one time special ambassador at the court of Henry VIII.—but they had their own ambitions in view throughout, and were not interested in the good of the monastery. When the time of

trouble came upon the monks, the Abbot was elsewhere—for he had commonly other monasteries under his rule—and he cared little so long as his own property and income were not affected.

The troubles alluded to were due to the ravages of the French Calvinists and Huguenots. Many outrages were committed by them, some in the immediate vicinity of Pontigny. At La Rhode, one of its filiations, the monks were one day nearly all massacred in the early morning, on their way through the dark cloister into the church. Only three survived, who happened to be absent. Pontigny itself remained for a long time unmolested. A slight attack was indeed made in 1528 by the Calvinists, but it did not become serious; and nothing on a large scale happened till forty years later. In 1568, however, a party of Huguenots came over from Auxerre, and attacked the monastery. Fortunately their coming had been anticipated, and the body of St Edmund removed from its shrine, and placed in a position of safety in one of the underground cellars of the monastery. All the gold and precious stones, moreover, had been taken off the shrine, and confided to the care of the agent of the Viscountess of St Florentin. When the Huguenots arrived, they did all the mischief within their power. The only large tomb they found, however, was that of Hugh de Macon, the first Abbot of the monastery. He had been buried in the full pontificals of an Abbot, and they appear to have mistaken him for St Edmund. Acting with their usual fanaticism, they dragged the body out and burnt it; and the stone tomb can be seen at the present day, empty and defaced. Not content with this, they did all the mischief they could to the church. Whatever was

of any value—the brasses or copper plates over the tombs, the candlesticks, and all the brass or metal work in the church—they laid hands on. They even melted down the four copper pillars which had supported the shrine of St Edmund. The next object of their avarice was the leaden roof; and in order to secure this the more easily, they set fire to the church. The walls were indeed too massive to be injured; but whatever



Abbey Church, Pontigny—Tomb of Hugh de Macon.

was combustible was destroyed, and when the flames reached the tower, the great bells fell down to the ground. Having laden themselves with spoils, the invaders dressed themselves up in the ecclesiastical vestments, and set out on the return journey to Auxerre.

For a long time after this the church remained in a state of neglect. The monks indeed returned the following year; but the Commendatory Abbot would only allow

them enough money for the bare necessities of life, and refused to spend anything beyond what was required to render the monastery habitable. The church he left to its fate. In its place he fitted up the original chapel, then known as the Chapel of St Thomas the Apostle. This was sufficient for the needs of the moment, for the monks numbered only twenty-two, and were easily accommodated in the ancient choir.

This state of things lasted forty-six years. At the end of that time, the monks reasserted their right to elect their own Abbot, and many of the abuses then prevailing were reformed. But the community seems never to have returned to its ancient fervour; and when the Trappists were founded, and other reforms carried out in the Order, Pontigny ever remained on the lax side—a fact which had an important bearing on its ultimate destiny.

The restoration of the church was begun early in the seventeenth century, by Abbot Charles de Boucherat. He put on a new roof, which was finished in 1614, and built a small bell-tower. The monks seem to have re-entered the church about the year 1630; but the work of restoration was not fully completed till more than sixty years afterwards.

The details of the history of the Shrine during this period are somewhat obscure. We do not even know where the body of St Edmund was placed after the Huguenot invasion, before the new shrine was put up, towards the end of the seventeenth century. There certainly was a shrine at that time, however, as we have records of pilgrimages and miracles during those very years. The following account* may serve as an example:—

* Massé, p. 430. The most common French picture of St Edmund represents him as raising a child to life, and this is the type of miracle

“On the 26th day of November 1673, a still-born child was brought to the shrine of St Edmund by Edmund Chardon, father of the child, accompanied by Thuriau and Margaret Janneau, of the parish of Rouverai, in the diocese of Auxerre. They asserted that the said infant came into the world at two o'clock in the afternoon, and that they had a belief that God would work a miracle in the person of this said infant, by the intercession of the glorious St Edmund, and that for this reason they had brought him hither under the shrine where his holy relics rest. This infant was laid down in sight of numbers of persons, on the stone which is below the said shrine, and left there quite naked for the space of two hours or more, being quite cold after the manner of a dead body. And after the two hours were over, the said body was found to possess a natural warmth, even to have a beating of the heart, so that we assembled the community by sounding all the bells, and in their presence I administered the sacrament of baptism to the said infant, immediately after which the *Te Deum* was solemnly chanted.

“In witness of which, we have signed the present certificate, the same day and year as aforesaid.

(Signed) “F. PETIT, Prior of Pontigny (now
Abbot of La Ferté).

“F. CRENEL, Prior of Vallence.

“F. N. AUDRY, Sub-Prior of
Pontigny (now Prior of Bouras).

“F. COLLOT, Sacristan ; F. Perisson,
F. N. Barré, F. Michel.

usually associated with his name in France. The fact that St Edmund was himself thought at his birth to be still-born, as told in his life, was no doubt the origin of his being prayed to after his death for this class of grace. Many similar testimonies of miracles are extant.

“And we have given permission for the said child to be solemnly buried at the said Pontigny, the same day and year as above.

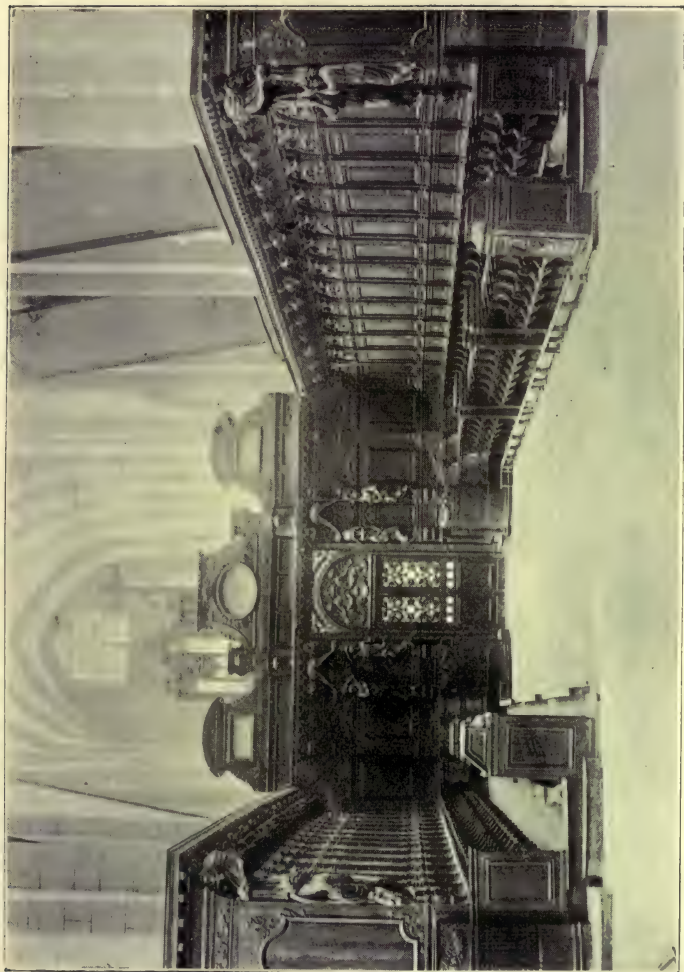
(Signed) “F. MOREAU, Sacristan, monk of Pontigny.”

The ancient shrine of St Edmund was never restored, and the treasures which had been entrusted to the Viscountess of St Florentin were never recovered, though the monks long tried legal measures to regain possession of them. Eventually, when the church was repaired, a new shrine was constructed, of simple design, in gilt wood, the simplicity of which must have contrasted strongly with the splendour of its predecessor. It was supported by four large angels of the Renaissance style then in vogue. The new shrine was placed in the same position as the former one, over the high altar. And about the same time new stalls in carved oak were added, which may still be seen.

The following account, written by Dom. Martène, the learned Maurist monk,* in 1708, gives an interesting description of Pontigny at the beginning of the eighteenth century :—

“The Feast of St Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, happily fell during my stay at Auxerre. The devotion which I owe to the saint whose name I bear induced me to go and celebrate it at Pontigny, where his holy relics lie. Monsieur Carron, who had just been elected Abbot, received me with great kindness, and kept me there for two days, during which I looked through two beautiful cartularies, which gave me much information. On St Edmund's Day I said Holy Mass under the shrine of the

* *Voyage Littéraire de Deux Religieux Bénédictins*, p. 57.



Monks' Choir, Abbey Church, Pontigny.

saint, with his own chasuble, which is quite round at the bottom, as chasubles used to be. I had also the consolation of seeing his sacred body, which God has preserved without corruption to the present day. It is placed above the high altar, in a shrine of wood gilt. The head of the saint, which is uncovered, can be seen through a crystal glass. The rest of the body is covered by his pontifical vestments. His arm was separated from his body, in order to be exposed for the veneration of the faithful, at the request of St Louis,* who had it placed in a gold reliquary, where it can be seen bare, but the flesh on it is quite dark, while that on the body is very white. Matthew Paris, an English writer of those times, explains the reason, and says that when the separation of the arm took place, the monks, fearing that being detached from the body it might corrupt (as though the same Hand that preserved it when attached to the body could not equally preserve it when separated from the same body), in order to prevent so great a misfortune, embalmed it, and that in punishment for their want of faith it at once became black. Nevertheless, we believe that the miracle is still continuing; for it is not natural that the embalming, whatever virtue it may have had, could have preserved the holy flesh for more than five hundred years. The same author tells us also that in consideration of St Edmund, leave was given for English women to enter the Church of Pontigny, contrary to the customs of the Order of Citeaux, which did not permit women to enter the churches. At the present day, not only English women, but in general all women, enter the Church of

* This statement has often been quoted on the authority of Martène; but it does not agree with the account given above: see p. 206.

Pontigny ; but they do not as yet enter those of Citeaux and Clairvaux. In the treasury the episcopal ring of St Edmund can also be seen, and the chalice and paten with which he was buried, his drinking-cup, and the arm of St Irenæus the Martyr. It is unnecessary to add here that it was to the Monastery of Pontigny that St Thomas retired, to escape the persecution of Henry II. His pontifical vestments can still be seen there, and the chapel where he was accustomed to pray, in which it is said that he received a vision of his future martyrdom. The Church of Pontigny is very beautiful, and conveys a sense of greatness, as befits the second daughter of Citeaux. Behind this church can be seen the ruins of the ancient one, that is, of the original Church of Pontigny. It was small, but fairly beautiful for its date. The Abbot's house was close by. It consisted of four small rooms, resembling the monks' cells of to-day, and only one of these had a fireplace. From this can be estimated the difference between the Abbots' houses of those days, and the palaces which they possess in our own. Near the entrance of the monastery can be seen an ancient building, which was once fairly sumptuous. It is believed to have been the former palace of the Counts of Champagne, where they used to retire when they gave themselves to hunting. To-day it serves as stables and kitchen for the Abbot, who has a magnificent house hard by."

The "magnificent house" which the Abbot had at the time of Dom Martène's visit was apparently not magnificent enough, for it was re-built on a far grander scale by Abbot Grillot (1742-1764). He was a man of large ideas, and apparently had hopes of the monastery returning to its former splendour. Under his direction the church was re-paved throughout, and a new high altar

of red marble, of Roman design, was put up. This necessitated the removal of the shrine, which he placed between the two hindermost pillars of the apse, where it still remains. This, the third translation of the saint's relics, took place on November 16, 1749, and was accompanied with great pomp and solemnity, the Bishop of Auxerre performing the ceremony. A large number of people assisted; but it was as it were a dying effort, and the last great celebration ever held at the Abbey. After the death of Abbot Grillot, the monastery once more began to decline, both in numbers and in monastic spirit. Abbot Chanlatte, who succeeded him, was known as the favourite of French fashionable society, and the friend of Voltaire. The new Abbot's house became the resort of the gay and fashionable world, while the monastery was getting more and more deeply into debt, and the community rapidly approaching extinction. He died the year before the outbreak of the Revolution, having effectually paved the way for the fall of the monastery.

The decree for the suppression of all monasteries came into effect on February 13, 1790. The monks of Pontigny numbered at that time but fifteen, together with two lay brothers, and they all left without resistance. The last Abbot, Jean Depaquy, retired to St Florentin, where he occupied himself with literary work till his death in 1810. It is satisfactory to be able to add that all those who dispersed kept the faith, and such of them as survived to see the restoration of religion, lived afterwards as secular priests.

After the departure of the monks, for a time Pontigny was deserted, and at the mercy of any chance comer. Chiefly owing to its retired situation, it suffered less than many other places, and the shrine of St Edmund, though

entirely unguarded, passed through those years without harm. At least one incursion was made on the church by revolutionists, and the marks of their work can still be seen; but, for some reason, they did not touch the shrine. A local tradition describes their visit, and how one of them, axe in hand, ascended the ladder behind the shrine, when a sudden fear came over him, and he descended in haste; and after that, none of his comrades ventured to go up.* Whatever the truth of the explanation, the fact remains certain, that the body of St Edmund passed through the time of the Reign of Terror unharmed.

In the year 1792 the monastery was sold, and immediately afterwards the buildings were pulled down. Here we meet with one of the most remarkable events in its history. In other cases the decree was enforced absolutely; in the case of Pontigny, the church itself was excepted from its enforcement. And the reason is remarkable; for, owing to the custom having established itself, as we have seen, for women to enter the church, it had become to all intents and purposes a parish church for the inhabitants of the village which had grown up around the Abbey. On this plea they claimed that it belonged to them, and that it was exempt from the law ordering the sale of all purely monastic churches. Their claim was allowed, and the church was spared, as well as the adjacent cloister.

The following is the official list of the parts exempted from the decree of destruction:—

* The present writer learnt the details of this tradition about the year 1885 from a very old man at Pontigny, whose father had been there at the time of the Reign of Terror, and used afterwards, he said, frequently to describe what occurred.



Abbey Church, Pontigny, North Side, showing Remains of Cloister.

"The church, and all the roadway leading thereto ; the bell tower ; the clock ; the cemetery ; the house and garden situate on the right, and used as lodging for the apothecary of the ancient Abbey ; the line of the road, and the rights of water issuing from the spring through channels to the pond which is in the Abbot's court ; and also the right wing of the cloister adjacent to the church throughout all its length."

A complaint was soon made that the purchaser did not respect the above reservations, and a further decree the following year gave the building over to the newly-constituted "Commune" of Pontigny. This arrangement held good till the signing of Napoleon's Concordat, and the restoration of public worship.*

The following documents are of interest as illustrating the temper of mind in which the authorities acted at that time, and the actual work of destruction carried out at Pontigny :—

"St Florentin, 18 Brumaire, of the second
year of the Republic, one and indivisible.†

"CITIZENS AND ADMINISTRATORS,—We have learnt by one of our brethren that the choir of the former Abbey of Pontigny is still surrounded with iron railings, and that the altar is decorated with large candlesticks of copper. We consider it unfitting to surround the temple of the Almighty, which should be open to all the faithful, as though it was a den of brigands. To destroy these pompous and useless barriers, and to devote them to the defence of the Republic, would be fulfilling the Divine will.

* For further details, see *L'Abbaye de Pontigny*, par le Baron Chaillon des Barres, Auxerre, 1844, p. 212 *seq.*

† November 8, 1793.

"A sanctuary can exist without railings, but an invaded country cannot continue without bayonets. Citizens! the Association of the People of St Florentin beg you to remove from all the churches of your district all works of iron or copper or brass which are not specially necessary for the conduct of worship, and to convert them into guns, bayonets, and cannons! Citizens! only give the word, and all those under your command will hasten with eagerness to the execution of these measures of the Revolution!

"THE MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF
THE PEOPLE OF ST FLORENTIN."

The following was the reply of the Directory of St Florentin :—

"The Directory, in consideration of the fact that the railings which surround the choir of the church of the former Abbey of Pontigny, and the candlesticks which adorn the altar, can be of great service to the Republic, having heard the agent of the Procurator, are of opinion that the railings should be converted into bayonets, and the candlesticks into guns.

"St Florentin, 20 Brumaire, of the second year of the Republic, one and indivisible." *

In accordance with the above, the copper candlesticks appear to have been taken from the high altar, and other candelabra removed from the church; but the iron railings were spared, and remain there to the present day.

It does not appear that any of the so-called "Consti-

* November 10, 1793.

tutional" or schismatic priests ever took charge of the parish; but on the signing of Napoleon's Concordat in the year 1802, one of the former monks, M. Robert, took up his residence there as parish priest. To his firmness we owe it that the church has never been despoiled. Many applications were made by those struggling for the restoration of their own churches for the ornaments which it was considered were no longer needed at Pontigny. For example, the Bishop of Troyes applied for the stalls, to place in his cathedral; but Abbé Robert firmly refused to part with them, and the Bishop had to fall back on the less elaborate ones from Clairvaux, which may still be seen in the Cathedral at Troyes.

Abbé Robert died in 1821, and with him the ancient Pontigny community came to an end. His successor, Abbé Cabias, seems to have been a man of more zeal than discretion. Knowing little about the relics in the church beyond that they were of an English saint, he took the body down and exposed it in the middle of the choir, which he made for the occasion into a kind of *Chapelle Ardente*, with lights and hangings, in the usual French fashion. This was in the year 1825. People came from far and near to see it, moved no doubt in many cases more by curiosity than devotion. It is said that on Whitsunday, on which day the Feast of the Translation has in later times been kept, there were more than ten thousand pilgrims present. The indiscreet Abbé allowed every one to freely touch the body, and to take away fragments of the vestments as relics. When this exhibition had continued about six months, he had a new shrine made, with large squares of glass in the back, so that the body should be always visible, and placing it

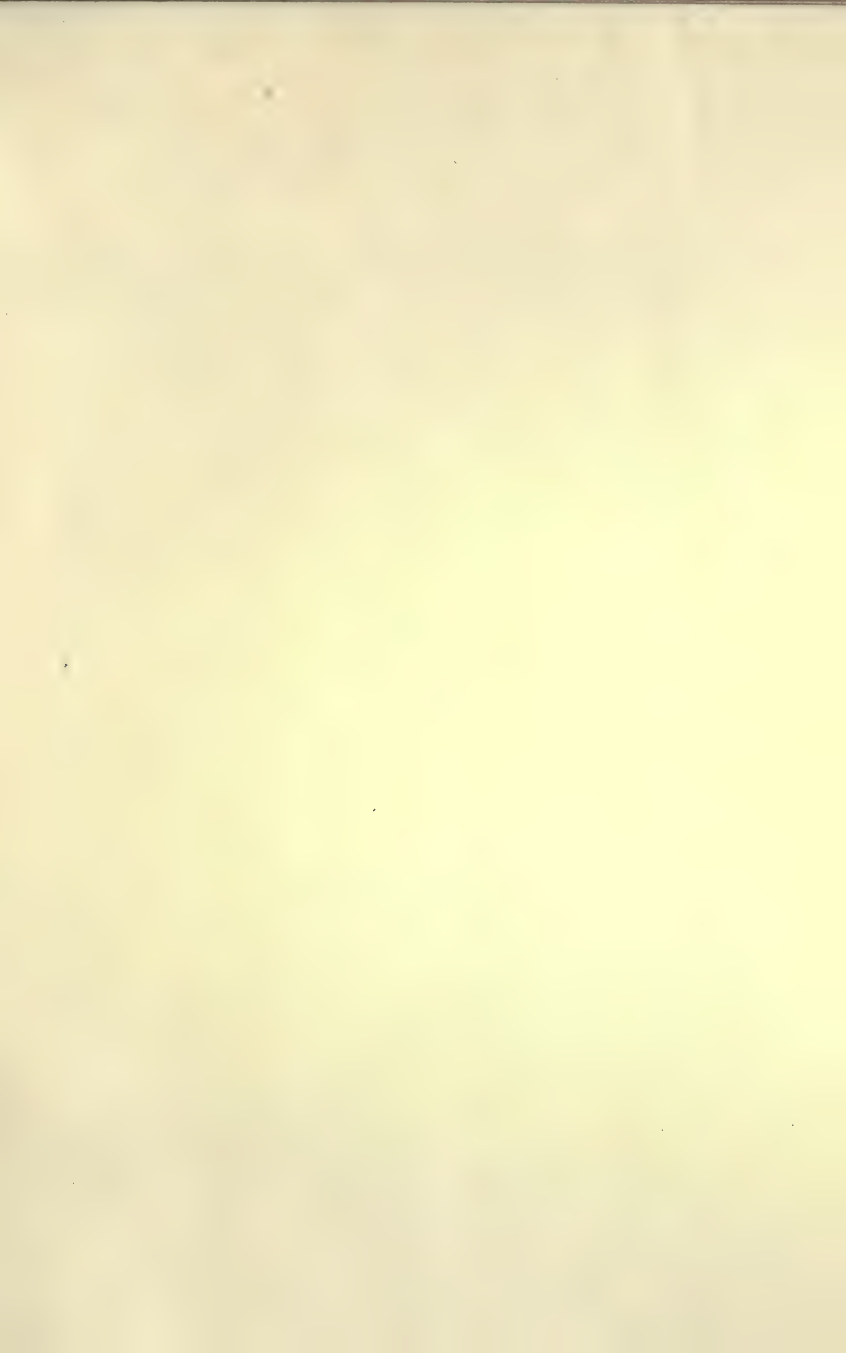
above the four carved angels, put back the body into its former position.

In the meantime, the church was fast falling into a state of dilapidation. The small sum applicable to its annual repairs was wholly insufficient, and it was quickly becoming a vast ruin. The following description was written in 1838, by Mgr. Henry, in his *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Pontigny*:—*

“The traveller who passes this spot, once so flourishing, and animated by the presence of so many Christians, feels his soul divided between respect and sadness and apprehension. If he directs his steps around the outside of the church, he sees nothing but ruins. If he enters, he sees, amidst the silence of the vast edifice, the floor of the chapels and the lower part of the walls covered with dirt and moss. He sees altars, which are memorials of the sublime sacrifice of our Saviour, overturned and half destroyed, pictures fallen down, walls damaged, the glass out of the windows; and in the midst of these dilapidations, he remarks the magnificence of what remains to bear witness of the faith and greatness of soul of the sons of St Stephen. The body of St Edmund still occupies its ancient position; but no lamp is to be seen burning before the shrine of the holy Archbishop, nor any taper to shed beneath the vaults a holy and subdued light. This land of blessings, this asylum of the devotion of our fathers, now scarcely possesses even a single priest to say Mass over the tombs of those who have deserved so well of all the world.”

When things seemed at their worst, however, better times were at hand. In the year 1842 Père Muard, a

* p. 262.





House of the Fathers of St Edmund, Pontigny.

priest of the Archdiocese of Sens,* of holy memory, conceived the idea of founding a congregation of priests, to help the Bishop by giving missions, or by other work, and he selected Pontigny for his first house, partly on account of the neglected state of the shrine there, thinking that his priests might well unite the care of the sacred relics with their more active work. After a few years, however, he felt called to a stricter order, and founded a Benedictine house of strict observance, at Pierre-qui-vire.† His successor at Pontigny was Père Boyer, by whose exertions the church was gradually repaired and restored. This required no little energy and perseverance, and took nearly twenty years to accomplish. The community at the same time grew rapidly, and was placed on a permanent footing; and branch houses were established at Laval (where the Fathers have charge of a large school), Mount St Michel, off the coast of Normandy, and elsewhere.

During the repairs, the body of St Edmund was sealed up, and it remained so by order of the Archbishop of Sens till the renovation of the church and shrine were complete. In 1872, the year after the conclusion of the war with Germany, the new shrine being ready, the body was once more taken out. The remains of the old vestments, in which it had lain for more than six centuries, were removed to the museum, and new ones of similar shape placed upon the body, which was then put in the position it has occupied ever since.

* A re-arrangement of dioceses took place at the time of Napoleon's Concordat, and for a time Pontigny was under the Bishop of Troyes; but from 1821 it became part of the newly-formed Archdiocese of Sens and Auxerre.

† This congregation has now a branch in England, at Buckfast, Devon.

APPENDIX A

MANUSCRIPT AND OTHER AUTHORITIES FOR THE LIFE OF ST EDMUND

THE life of St Edmund is unusually plentiful in records. For a full account of these, the reader is referred to the *Life of St Edmund of Canterbury*, by Dom Wilfrid Wallace, pp. 1-18, and the *Life of St Edmund of Abingdon*, by the Baroness de Paravicini, pp. xiii.-xlii. A short summary of the various authors who have been quoted in this work must here suffice.

The seven years during which St Edmund was before the public as Archbishop of Canterbury happened to fall within the lifetime of one of the most famous of the mediæval monastic chroniclers, Matthew Paris, the Benedictine of St Albans. He was a younger man than St Edmund. He entered the monastery in 1217, and was the official chronicler from 1236 till his death in 1259. His two chief works were the *Chronica Majora* and the *Historia Anglorum*, sometimes called the *Historia Major* and *Minor* respectively, the latter being a compendium of the former, but often containing additional information. But the *Chronica Majora* was not in its entirety due to Matthew Paris at all. He engrafted his work on to an existing one, which he transcribed, though with numerous interpolations and corrections. The first part was the work of John de Cella, afterwards Abbot of St Albans, and ends with the year 1189. It was taken up from there by Roger Wendover, a monk of the same Abbey, who continued it till his death in 1236—a little more than two years after St Edmund had become Archbishop. Matthew Paris succeeded Wendover, and continued as chronicler for the rest of his life. The *Historia Anglorum* covers the period from 1067 to 1253, and is entirely written by him.

Besides the text, it includes a number of illustrations drawn by him in the quaint style of the day, some of which concern St Edmund, and have been reproduced here. Matthew Paris's work has throughout a vigorous and characteristic style of its own, essentially different from the colourless tone of the chronicles before his time; but he was by no means free from bias, and his continual cynical remarks colour the whole narrative. St Edmund's name occurs frequently during the time of his archiepiscopate, and Matthew Paris is alternately in sympathy with him or the reverse, according to the particular opponent of the moment; for though he sided with him against the king, he was not afraid on occasion to sneer at the Pope; and in all the differences between the Archbishop and the monks, he took the part of his brethren.

Besides Matthew Paris, several other monastic chroniclers give us information about St Edmund, as, for example, the Oseney chronicler, and the chronicler of Lanercost, an Augustinian monastery in Cumberland. And the whole history of St Edmund's dispute with the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, can be found in the so-called *Gervase Chronicle*. Gervase himself was a monk of Christchurch during the latter half of the twelfth century. He was dead long before St Edmund's time, but his chronicle was continued by others of the same monastery, whose names are unknown, and in this continuation is to be found the correspondence and other details connected with these disputes. A few particulars concerning St Edmund's life at Salisbury can also be found in documents published in the Rolls Series.

Turning now to the actual biographies of St Edmund, we find the authorship of them shrouded in some obscurity. No name is ever found on the manuscripts themselves, and any attempt to decide the question by internal evidence is rendered difficult by the common habit prevalent in those days of copying long extracts from one manuscript into another, without any acknowledgment of their origin, so that it is often impossible to ascertain where they came from in the first instance. The most we can aim at is to attribute any given life with a greater or less degree of

probability to one of those who are known to have written a biography of the saint. Of these, two stand out prominently, namely, Matthew Paris, the monastic chronicler alluded to above, who himself tells us* that he wrote a life; and Robert Rich, St Edmund's brother and lifelong companion, who is believed to have done so, on the strength of an ancient and very general tradition. No two persons could be mentioned whose work would better represent the two phases of St Edmund's life, his public career and his inner life respectively; and if the works of these two could be identified with certainty, we should undoubtedly have a very complete account of the saint.† But although the names of the authors were apparently known by tradition for several centuries after the various lives were written, they cannot be decided with certainty at the present time.

Among the other biographers of St Edmund, the chief one we know of is Bertrand, afterwards Prior of Pontigny. He had been "chamberlain" and secretary to the saint, though we do not know for how long, and he accompanied him in his exile, and was present at his death; after which he took the Cistercian habit at Pontigny, so as not to be separated from his master's remains. He wrote his life at the request of the Abbot, shortly before the Translation of the saint's relics, as we know on the express testimony of Albert, Archbishop of Armagh (and afterwards of Livonia in Prussia), who preached the sermon on that occasion.

Lastly, there is a tradition that a Life was written by Robert Bacon, one of St Edmund's pupils at Oxford, and afterwards a Dominican. Having been his close friend for perhaps thirty years, he would have been well qualified to write, especially about his Oxford life, and, subsequently, about his difficulties with King Henry, with which Robert Bacon was himself in some way connected. This Robert Bacon must not be confused with his more famous namesake, Friar

* *Chron. Maj.*, v., p. 369.

† If the conclusions which the Baroness de Paravicini came to after studying the matter are well founded—and she certainly adduces strong reasons in support of her contention—these are both extant, and there is a copy of each in the British Museum.

Roger Bacon, the Franciscan, who is thought to have been his nephew. It has sometimes been stated that he too was a pupil of St Edmund; but his date—he was born in 1214—renders this impossible.

It is of course probable that there were other biographers besides these four, and, on the other hand, although we have more than four different contemporary Lives extant, it does not follow that they include all the four biographies enumerated above. A list of the chief manuscript Lives is given below. Besides these there are numerous smaller Lives, which are, for the most part, abridgements of the larger ones. In addition to the manuscript Lives, there are also a large number of documents written shortly after the saint's death, for the purpose of advancing the process of his canonisation. These necessarily have the names of the authors attached to them. Copies of many of them, as, for example, the Petition of the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order, or that of the University of Oxford, were kept at Pontigny, and were printed by Martène and Durand in the *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*; others, such as the Petition of the Bishop and Chapter of Salisbury, are to be found in the Appendix to Dom Wallace's *Life of St Edmund*; but some are still unpublished, as, for example, the four testimonies preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Of the Lives of St Edmund written during the two centuries which followed his death, the most important are those by Guy of St Denis and John of Tynemouth, and they are almost identically the same. Whether Guy of St Denis copied from John of Tynemouth, or *vice versa*, cannot be determined until more is known of the latter of these two. Dr Horstmann, in the preface to his edition of Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*,* gives good reason for supposing that John of Tynemouth was a monk of St Albans, and possibly chronicler

* Capgrave (1393-1464) was an Augustinian friar of King's Lynn, in Norfolk. His *Nova Legenda Angliæ* is a re-arrangement of John of Tynemouth's Lives of the English Saints, which are given there in alphabetical order instead of in the order of the calendar. The Life of St Edmund can be found in Dr Horstmann's edition, i., p. 316 *seq.*

It is worth noticing that the very curious miracle of the leper (Wallace, p. 424) is given by John of Tynemouth, but not by Guy of St Denis.

there—a successor of Matthew Paris—from about the year 1325. In that case he would have been an exact contemporary of Guy of St Denis, who became Abbot in that year. The Life is evidently based on that in the Pontigny MS. Later still, we have the Life by the well-known Dominican Surius, in his *Vitæ Sanctorum*, published in 1570, and one by Nicholas Harpsfield, the Douay writer, published in his *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica* in 1612. Both of these are clearly abbreviations of the Life in the Pontigny MS., and as both profess to be based chiefly on the Life by Robert Rich, we have definite evidence that he was at that time traditionally considered to be the author of that Life, as the Baroness de Paravicini contends.*

In later times, several small Lives have been written in France, for the use of pilgrims to Pontigny; and in 1853, a larger one was published by Père Massé, one of the founders of the Congregation of Fathers of St Edmund, who now occupy the remains of the ancient Abbey. This has run into several editions, both as originally published, and in an abbreviated form. It is compiled from original sources, chiefly from the Pontigny MS.; but the author also consulted other manuscripts in France and England.

In England, since the Reformation, there have been several short non-Catholic Lives written of St Edmund, as one of the Archbishops of Canterbury, the most widely known being that of Dean Hook, published in the latter half of the nineteenth century. During the Oxford Movement, a short Life was also written in the well-known series edited by the Tractarians. No name appears on the title-page; but the author is understood to have been Mark Pattison. Of the Catholic Lives written since the Reformation, those by Bishop Challoner, in his *Britannia Sancta*, and by Alban Butler, among his *Lives of the Saints*, stand prominently forward; and by a curious coincidence, these were both published in 1745. No other Catholic Life seems to have been written for more than a century. In 1874, Mr George White, a former student of St Edmund's

* Surius says that he writes on the authority of Robert Rich and Robert Bacon. Harpsfield also gives as his authority Robert Rich, except for one passage, which he attributes to "Auctor Innominatus." From the contents of this passage, it appears that the unnamed author is the Lanercost Chronicler.

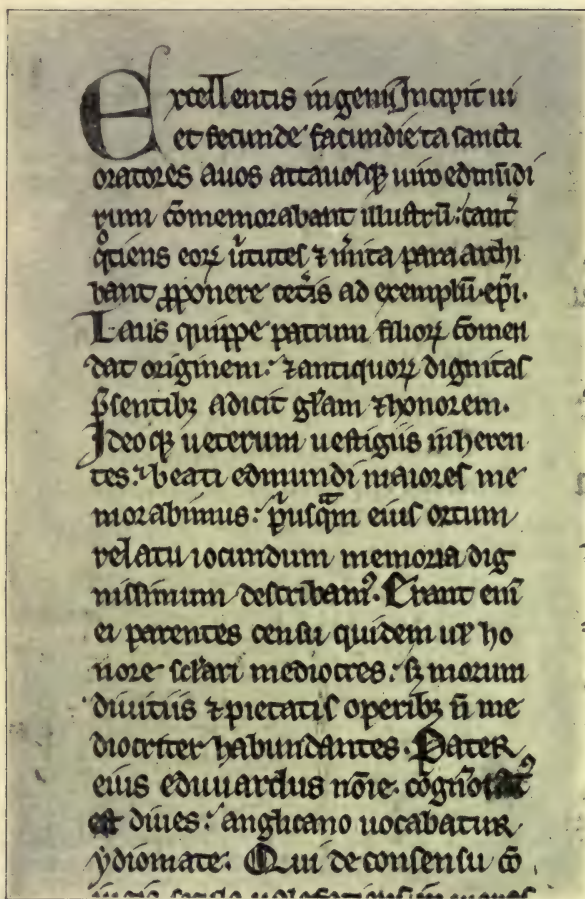
College, wrote a short Life for the use of the pilgrims who visited the shrine at Pontigny in that year. It was based chiefly on that of Père Massé. No work of importance, however, appeared till 1893, when Dom Wallace's *Life of St Edmund of Canterbury* was published. Dom Wallace had been for many years a student and Professor at St Edmund's College, and had since been a Benedictine in the monastery dedicated to St Edmund and St Thomas at Erdington, in Warwickshire. He was already in failing health when the command of his superiors laid on him the duty of writing a life of their patron, and his work became one against time, for it seemed very doubtful whether he would live to complete it. In the event he saw his work done, the last proofs having been corrected as he lay on what was believed to be his death-bed; and though he lingered on for three years afterwards, he never really recovered his health, and he died in 1896. His work bears unmistakable traces of the pressure under which it was written, and this forms a sufficient explanation of whatever little defects may be sometimes criticised. It is indeed wonderful how one in such an enfeebled state of health ever found it possible to give himself to the work with such industry and perseverance.*

Since the appearance of Dom Wallace's book, there has been yet another Life published, by the Baroness de Paravicini. It had been begun, indeed, before Dom Wallace's, but its completion had been unavoidably delayed, and in the end we believe that it was considerably modified in form, in consequence of the appearance of that work. It was published in the autumn of 1898. It is curious to note how both Dom Wallace and the Baroness de Paravicini, although working independently, brought together almost identically the same manuscript sources. Here, however, the resemblance ceases, for both in their conclusions as to the authorship of the various manuscript Lives, and as to the order of events and other circumstances of St Edmund's life, they come to fundamentally different conclusions.

The following is a list of the chief manuscript Lives; the

* An excellent little compendium of this Life, by Rev. William Le Grave, has been issued by the Catholic Truth Society.

authorship is in each case appended according to the estimate of Dom Wallace, and likewise according to the Baroness de



Facsimile page of *Life of St Edmund*. (Addit. MS., No. 15,264, British Museum).

Paravicini; and it will be seen how widely different are their conclusions from each other.

I. *Pontigny MS.*—Formerly at Pontigny Abbey, but now in the Public Library at Auxerre (MS. No. 148). Writing of late thirteenth century. It was printed by Martène and Durand in 1717 in the *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, and has usually been taken as the standard authority on the Life of St Edmund. Martène attributes it to Bertrand, relying chiefly on a certain passage in which the writer seems to speak as an eye-witness.* Writers since his time, including Dom Wallace, appear to have accepted this on his authority without further question. The Baroness de Paravicini, however, maintains that it is by St Edmund's brother, Robert Rich, and in this she is apparently returning to a tradition which seems to have been general up to three hundred years ago. The reader is referred to her *Life of Saint Edmund of Abingdon* (pp. xx. seq.) for her reasons, which are undoubtedly strong. Additional reasons have been given above, for believing that this was the tradition in past times: see p. 237.

II. *Addit. MS.*—British Museum, Additional MS. No. 15,264, f. 87. Writing of the middle of the thirteenth century. This is the same Life as that mentioned in I. It is mentioned by Père Massé, but was apparently overlooked by Dom Wallace.

III. *Cotton MS.*—British Museum, Cotton MS., Julius D., vi., f. 123. Writing of the early fourteenth century. It is printed in the Appendix of the Life by Dom Wallace, who attributes it to Eustace, the monk of Christchurch, Canterbury. The Baroness de Paravicini, however, considers it to be certainly the Life by Matthew Paris, hitherto supposed to be missing.†

* He was, no doubt, influenced by the fact that it was the only MS. Life he found at Pontigny, where Bertrand's Life was originally written. As an answer to this, however, it must be remembered that Pontigny Abbey had been more than once sacked by Huguenots, and when it was burnt by them, nearly everything perished. There were probably copies of several Lives there, and this happens to be the only one which escaped destruction.

† The reasons given by the Baroness de Paravicini (*Life of St Edmund*, pp. xxix. seq.) are worth careful study. They may be added to by a close comparison with the *Chronica Majora* and *Historia Anglorum*, for many little phrases occur in one or other of these which occur in the Cotton MS. The reasons, also, which Dom Wallace gives for attributing it to Eustace would,

IV. *Cambridge MS.*—Cambridge University Library MS. MM. 4-6. This was discovered quite recently by Rev. Edmond Nolan. The handwriting is of the thirteenth century. It is the same Life as that referred to in V. and VI. Dom Wallace never saw this or the Balliol MS., and hence he considered the Lambeth MS. to be an abridgment of I. The Baroness de Paravicini knew the Balliol MS. and the Lambeth one, but not the Cambridge one. She came to the conclusion that it was a separate Life,* and attributed it to Bertrand.

V. *Lambeth MS.*—Lambeth MS. 135, f. 118. Writing of the thirteenth century. The same Life as IV.

VI. *Balliol MS.*—Balliol College MS., 226, f. 48. Writing of the middle of the thirteenth century. Also the same Life as IV.

VII. *St John's MS.*—St John's College, Cambridge; MS. C. 12, 9. Writing of late thirteenth century. This is one of the most interesting of all the Lives; and, strange to say, it has been entirely ignored by all writers with the single exception

with one exception, equally hold for attributing it to Matthew Paris, for the latter also never knew St Edmund till after his consecration, and being also a Benedictine, would be willing to shield the monks as far as possible in recounting their disputes with the Saint. The only definite argument given by Dom Wallace (p. 9) is the reference from Wood, who quotes a passage from this Life and attributes it to Eustace. But Dom Wallace himself answers his own argument in a later paragraph on the same page, evidently written subsequently, when he had found out that Wood's quotation was from the deposition of Eustace preserved in the Corpus Christi Library, and that this same deposition had been merely copied in by the writer of the Cotton MS., according to the fashion of those days.

Nevertheless, there are some difficulties to overcome before we can accept the Matthew Paris theory with certainty. Besides the instance given by Baroness de Paravicini in which the author describing the saint's funeral speaks as an eye witness—which she freely dismisses as a quotation—there is one more instance when, describing St Edmund at Rome (Wallace, p. 558) he assumes the first person plural: "Nos autem torpentes et somnolenti vix potuimus, etc." These words could not have been originally written by Matthew Paris, though they might have been by Eustace. The only way out of the difficulty would be to suppose these also to be a quotation.

* If it is carefully examined, it will be found that though the facts are for the most part the same as in the Pontigny Life, the order is entirely different, which points strongly to its being a separate composition,

of Dom Wallace, who used it largely throughout his work, and printed it in full in his Appendix. He considers the author to have been Robert Bacon. The Baroness de Paravicini alludes to it in her Introduction, though she makes no use of it in her Life. She evidently is slow to believe that it can be by Robert Bacon, though unable to assign any other definite author.*

VIII. *Faustina MS.*—British Museum, Cotton MS., Faustina, B. I., ff. 180-183. Writing of the fourteenth century. Dom Wallace attributes it to Robert Rich. The Baroness de Paravicini thinks it may possibly be by the monk Eustace.

IX. *Fell. MS.*—Bodleian Library, Fell. I., 4. The same Life as VIII. Writing of middle thirteenth century. At the end is a long list of miracles worked at the shrine of St Edmund, at Pontigny. A similar list was at Pontigny itself, and a selection of these was printed by Martène in the *Thesaurus*.

The following unpublished MSS. have also been quoted in the text :—

C. C. *Col. MS.*—Corpus Christi College MS., 154. Writing of the middle of the thirteenth century. It consists of four depositions of those who had known St Edmund, written for the purpose of forwarding his canonisation. The names of the writers are Richard of Dunstable, Stephen the Subdeacon, Robert the Cistercian, and Eustace, the monk of Christchurch, Canterbury.

St Paul's MS.—Register A, *sive* 1 Liber Pilosus, f. 18. This is an account of St Edmund's episcopal consecration hitherto unpublished. It was brought under my notice by the Baroness de Paravicini. The writing is of late thirteenth

* The present writer fully agrees with Dom Wallace's estimate of the importance and interest of this Life, but is unable to follow him in attributing it to Robert Bacon. It is written in a curious and characteristic style. The Latin is exceedingly obscure, and very difficult to construe; and whereas we have a short account of St Edmund written certainly by Robert Bacon, and quoted in the Cotton MS., the style there is absolutely unlike that in the St John's MS. Compare also the miracle to the scholar with a bad arm, which is told in both manuscripts. See Wallace, pp. 562 and 597. Robert Bacon tells us that he learnt it from St Edmund himself; it is difficult to imagine him telling it in the language used in the St John's MS.

or early fourteenth century, so that it is not the original, but a transcript. It is quoted *in extenso* in its proper place in this book.

In quoting the above manuscripts, the reference has sometimes been given to the original ; but when any particular one has been at any time published, the reference to the printed edition has been substituted in brackets. The same remark applies to works such as the monastic chronicles, and in cases such as those of the *Chronica Majora* or *Historia Anglorum*, and others, in which they have been published more than once, the reference has been given to the work in the Rolls Series. The heading "Martène" refers to the *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum* ; the heading "Wallace" refers to the Latin Lives at the end of his *Life of St Edmund of Canterbury*. The Life of St Richard of Chichester, by Ralph Bockling, the Dominican, has also been quoted, and the reference given is to the Saints' Lives, edited by the Bollandists.

APPENDIX B

THE FAMILY OF ST EDMUND.

(1) **His Father.**

It is curious that the manuscripts are not all in agreement as to the name of St Edmund's father. The majority give Reinald, or Reginald, but some of the best give Edward. The Pontigny MS., indeed, gives the former; but the Additional MS., which contains the same Life, but copied about fifty years earlier, gives the latter; and while it is easy to see a reason for a scribe to have changed Edward into the more commonly known Reinald, it is not so easy to account for the opposite substitution, so that it is perhaps safe to conclude that Edward is the true reading. If this Life is by Robert Rich, as the Baroness de Paravicini thinks, this would be decisive, for it is impossible to suppose that he could have been ignorant of his own father's name; and this would, moreover, account for the fact that Surius gives Edward as his name. The Lambeth, Cambridge, and Balliol manuscripts, all three likewise give Edward.* In all the others, the name is given as Reinald.

The question is certainly perplexing, for it was not usual in

* Since the above was written some fresh light has been brought to bear on the subject by the discovery of a manuscript in Sir T. Phillipps's Library at Cheltenham (MS. 336). It consists of a sermon preached at St Mary's, Oxford, on the Feast of the Translation of St Edmund, by Friar Herbert, a Franciscan, early in the fourteenth century. Throughout this sermon the name of St Edmund's father is given as Edward, and a large portion of it consists in tracing a hidden meaning in the connection between the names Edward and Edmund. It thus appears that at that date, the saint's father was commonly known as Edward. The sermon was brought to my notice by Rev. Edmond Nolan, and was kindly copied by Mr J. H. Jeayes, of the British Museum.

those days, as it is now, to have more than one Christian name. It is difficult to see any really satisfactory solution. We may perhaps take refuge in a possible conjecture that Edward may have been the name which he took on entering religion, at the monastery at Eynsham. It is not impossible that Robert Rich and Bertrand might call him by his name in religion, while the public at large might know him by his name in the world.

(2) His Brothers and Sisters.

All are agreed that St Edmund had two sisters, Margaret and Alice, who both became nuns at Catesby. The elder one, Margaret, became Prioress. Matthew Paris chronicles her death in 1257, and states that she died in the odour of sanctity, and that miracles were worked at her tomb. In the autumn of the same year, he describes in almost identical words the death of Alice, whom he likewise styles Prioress. Many have inferred from this that she became Prioress after her sister's death, and herself died a few months later. Others, however, think that the two paragraphs refer to the same event, and point to the fact that Matthew Paris was then an old man, and not infrequently recorded the same event twice during his latter years. Luard, in editing the *Chronica Majora* for the Rolls Series, points out several notable instances in which he does so.* This hypothesis is accepted by Dom Wallace, who even states definitely † that Alice Rich lived till 1270. It is to be regretted that he omits to give his authority for this statement.

About St Edmund's brothers, there is a definite conflict of evidence. All his biographers speak of his brother Robert, who was by his side throughout his life, and at his death. The author of the Life in the Cotton MS. asserts that there were two other brothers, who entered the monasteries of Eynsham and Boxley respectively; and that the name of the latter was Nicholas. None of the other manuscripts mention any brother but Robert by name; but both the Pontigny and the Cambridge Lives contain the word *fratres* in alluding to those

* *Chron. Maj.*, v., p. xv.

† p. 39.

who were absent from Edmund's last interview with his dying mother. Apart from this one word, however, it must be admitted that the natural inference from the Pontigny Life as a whole is that there was only one brother.*

In the St John's College MS., however, it is definitely stated that Robert was St Edmund's *only* brother, and this is corroborated by the further statement that when his father left his home at Abingdon, St Edmund was still so young that in after life he was not able to recall his father's features. Had he been six years old at the time, this could hardly have been the case. Recently, further corroboration of this view has been found in a fragment of a life at Lambeth,† in thirteenth century handwriting. In this it is stated that Mabel had four children (*pueros*), and they are enumerated as two sons, Edmund and Robert, and two daughters.‡

It would seem strange if there had been two other brothers, that nothing whatever should be heard about them. The allusions to St Edmund's two sisters at Catesby are numerous, as are those to his brother Robert. Yet not a word occurs about any other brothers except in this solitary passage in the Cotton MS. And this becomes the more remarkable when we remember that Boxley, where one of them is supposed to have been, is in the diocese of Canterbury. Dom Wallace surmises that the author of the Life in the Cotton MS. has mistaken St Edmund's father for a supposed brother, especially as he does not mention the fact of the father retiring to Eynsham, and calls the person alluded to "*homo discretus*." This seems a not improbable solution with respect to this one; but we are left to conjecture for an explanation as to the other.

(3) The Tomb of St Edmund's Mother.

According to the Oxford historian, Anthony Wood,§

* In the Life by Surius we find the same word *fratres* used, and in this case it certainly refers to one brother and two sisters; and it may have been used in the same sense by the author of the Pontigny Life.

† MS. 135, f. 138.

‡ St Edmund was the eldest of the four, but in which order in age the others follow is uncertain.

§ *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.*, ii., p. 9.

Mabel was buried in a chapel adjacent to the Abbey church at Abingdon, which chapel, he says, was built by Abbot John about the middle of the reign of Henry III. He further says that it was dedicated to the Holy Cross, St Edmund and St Guthlac;* but was commonly known as the "Chapel of St Edmund's Mother." This seems definite enough; but it is in absolute conflict with a metrical life of St Edmund, written within a hundred years of his death,† which describes the tomb as in the Church of St Nicholas, which was a short way outside the Abbey gateway. It is definitely stated that she had a stone tomb in front of the rood, on the south side, and that on it was written the well known inscription referring to her as the "Flower of Widows."

In order to make these two statements agree, it has been suggested that the Chapel of St Edmund's Mother might have been adjacent to the Church of St Nicholas, and been ultimately regarded as part of the same building. This is, however, not a possible solution in any way, for the Abbey church was at some little distance from St Nicholas's. And even if it had been otherwise possible, it would be difficult to reconcile it with the surroundings of the spot. No vestige can be seen of any such chapel, nor any apparent place where it could have abutted on to the church. And, moreover, had it existed on the south side, it would have been immediately in front of the Abbey gateway.‡

The question therefore resolves itself into deciding which is the more trustworthy authority—the author of the metrical

* We have here an interesting insight into Mabel's devotional life. Devotion to the True Cross was traditional at Abingdon. St Guthlac was a hermit who lived in the seventh century, and is connected with the same devotion; for at the time of his birth, a miraculous cross was seen over his mother's house.

† See Wallace, p. 34, note.

‡ The supposed difficulty as to date is not a serious one. It is quite true that the Church of St Nicholas in its present form dates from the time of Abbot Nicholas (1289-1307); but part of it is much older. The front arches, for example, are unmistakably Norman in character. Moreover, there is a definite record of a "Chapel of St Nicholas" belonging to the Abbey much earlier: see *Chron. Abing.* ii., p. 327. Abbot Nicholas may have restored, or partially rebuilt the church, possibly because it bore his name, but it must have been in existence long before his time.

Life, or Wood. In deciding this, we must not lose sight of the fact that at the time when the metrical Life was written, the tomb was still in existence, and was a frequent place of pilgrimage, as the writer attests. It is hardly possible that he should have made a complete mistake as to where it stood. When Wood wrote, on the other hand, both Mabel's tomb and the Abbey church were things of the past. The traditions as to their details were already more than a century old, and he himself had no more than a general interest in them.* Moreover, we have a detailed description of Abingdon Abbey church by William of Worcester, of about the date 1470, and there is not a word about any chantry to Mabel. It is hardly conceivable that if there had been a centre of pilgrimage inside the church, it could have passed altogether without notice.

On the other hand, Wood's account is so circumstantial that it would appear that it must rest on some foundation. Nothing beyond a conjecture can be offered to account for it. There may have been a memorial chapel or chantry in the Abbey grounds, or adjacent to the church, with the dedication described, but not containing the tomb. Such little chapels were common enough in those days, and are still to be seen in Catholic countries. This supposition gains ground from the fact that Abbot John, who is said to have built it, did not begin his term of office till more than half a century after the death of Mabel; and the suggestion that she was buried elsewhere and that afterwards the body was removed into the chantry is most unlikely. But it is dangerous to deal in pure conjecture; and it may perhaps be hoped that in these days, when so many original sources are available, some document may yet be found to throw fresh light on the matter.

* He does indeed cite an authority—*Rot. Chron. Cænobii Abendon MS.* I cannot verify this reference; the Abingdon Chronicle, published in the Rolls Series, has apparently nothing of the kind. At any rate, it seems easier to imagine Wood mistaking the meaning of a passage (for he does not quote it *verbatim*) than for the metrical Life to contain so grave a mistake.

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGY OF ST EDMUND'S LIFE

THE following table is based on the chronology adopted by Dom Wallace.* It is not intended, at least in the earlier part, to be more than hypothetical. None of the saint's biographers give any dates, and the details available are wholly insufficient to enable us to form more than a rough guess. It is not till the time when he went to Salisbury that we can be at all certain of any date. After that, we can tell a good deal from the Salisbury documents published in the Rolls Series; and from the time when he became Archbishop, his life is bound up with the history of the country, and the dates of the chief events are known.

<i>Events of St Edmund's Life.</i>	<i>Public Events of the same Period.</i>
(about) 1180. Birth of St Edmund.	Henry II. reigning.
1189.	Death of Henry II. Richard I. succeeds.
(about) 1192. At School at Oxford.	
(about) 1195. He goes to Paris.	
(about) 1198. Death of Mabel.	
1199.	Death of Richard I. John succeeds.
1202. Regent in Arts at Oxford.	
1208.	Interdict begins.
1209. He returns to Paris.	
1213.	Interdict ends.
(about) 1214. Teacher of Theology at Oxford.	
1215.	Magna Charta signed.
1216.	Death of John. Henry III. succeeds.

Events of St Edmund's Life. Public Events of the same Period

1222. Treasurer at Salisbury, and
Rector of Calne.

1227. He preaches the Crusade.

1233. He is elected Archbishop of
Canterbury.

1234. Consecration at Canterbury.

1236.

Marriage of King Henry to
Eleanor of Provence.

1237.

Arrival of the Papal Legate.

1237. Departure for Rome.

1238. Return from Rome.

1240. He leaves England for Pontigny.

1240. Death at Soissy.

1245.

Council of Lyons opened by
Innocent IV.

1246. Canonisation at Lyons.

APPENDIX D

THE CHAPEL OF ST THOMAS AT PONTIGNY

THERE has been considerable confusion as to the Chapel of St Thomas at Pontigny.* There were three chapels, each of which has sometimes been called by that name.

1. The chapel where St Thomas had a vision of his future martyrdom. This is the one commonly shown at the present day as the Chapel of St Thomas. It is one of the small chapels on the Epistle side, and behind the altar is a picture of his martyrdom. But as it existed in St Thomas's time, it is clear that it could not have been dedicated in his honour. In fact, it was dedicated to St Stephen.

2. The chapel really dedicated to St Thomas of Canterbury was erected very soon after his martyrdom, and abutted on the south transept. It was not an integral part of the church, and after the Revolution it was allowed to fall into ruins. Of late years part of it has been repaired, and converted into a burial place for the Fathers of St Edmund.

3. The Chapel of St Thomas was also the name used to describe the original Abbey church after the present one was opened; but the dedication was to St Thomas the Apostle. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that it was really in memory of our St Thomas. For if the supposition is correct that he lodged in the ancient Abbot's house, it is quite probable that he would have commonly said Mass in that chapel, which adjoined it. The present church was at that time in course of construction, and some of the side chapels were apparently already in use. When the monks finally migrated into it, it would have been a not unnatural thing to dedicate the old

* See Notes on Illustrations, p. 276 *seq.*

one to St Thomas, on whose feast day St Thomas of Canterbury was born, after whom he received his name, and to whom he ever had a great devotion. And before his own canonisation, that would have appeared the natural way to honour his memory.

This is, of course, only a conjecture ; but there is some likelihood in it simply because it is difficult otherwise to account for the dedication to St Thomas at all. Mgr. Henry, in his *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Pontigny*, indeed, accounts for it by supposing that the Abbey was originally dedicated to, with the double title, "The Assumption of Our Lady, and St Thomas the Apostle," and Père Massé has copied this in his *Vie de S. Edme*. If, however, a double dedication had existed, the monks would certainly have taken the whole title with them to the new church. Mgr. Henry seems to have realised this, and in his second edition he has withdrawn the second dedication, and leaves the title "Chapel of St Thomas" unexplained. The conjecture here suggested is at least not an impossible one. If founded on fact, would be an additional instance of the bond of union between Pontigny and England. The chapel was pulled down in 1715.

APPENDIX E

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE RELICS OF ST EDMUND

THE following account, written at the time of the English pilgrimage to Pontigny in 1874, conveys an accurate idea of the present state of the body of St Edmund :—

“The body, as seen through the glass in front of the shrine, shows that the saint was not a tall man. The head is covered with dark and rather shrivelled flesh. The forehead is narrow, high, and somewhat retreating, but the head grows unusually broad from the ears upwards. The ears, though shrivelled, must have been unusually small. The eyes are gone; the cheek bones high. The nose, now much decayed, was in the form of what is called Roman. The mouth is wide open, and three white teeth are seen. The chin is small, delicate, and beautifully formed. The neck, like the head, is covered with flesh of very dark colour. The shoulders are not broad. The right arm is gone, removed, we found, to another part of the church. The left hand is very small, and the three fingers left on it are long, straight, and gracefully posed. The nails are filbert-shaped. The saint must have had very beautiful hands. The hand, like the rest of the body, is covered with dark, somewhat shrivelled flesh. The feet are small. The figure is robed in the vestments of an archbishop.”

The following is a list of the chief relics elsewhere than at Pontigny :—

A large relic in St Peter's, Rome.

The tibia of the right leg in the new Westminster Cathedral.

The fibula of the left leg, at St Edmund's College, Old Hall.
One of the ribs in the Cathedral at Portsmouth.

A phalange of the right great toe, in the Church of St Thomas and St Edmund, Erdington.

The heart and viscera, which were buried under the choir in the Abbey Church of St James at Provins, perished during the French Revolution, and all search for them has proved fruitless. There is a chasuble at the Church of St Quiriace, Provins, known as St Edmund's, as well as a stole and maniple; but the chasuble has some embroidery of later date, which must have been added subsequently.

The vestments in which St Edmund was clad at the time of the translation of the relics in 1247 are kept at Pontigny, and have already been alluded to.

APPENDIX F

THE ARMS OF ST EDMUND

IN view of the long-standing error with respect to the arms adopted by St Edmund when he became Archbishop, the following extract from an article* by Mr Everard Green, F.S.A., *Rouge Dragon*, seems in place here. The arms which he discovered are used at St Edmund's College, Old Hall, and likewise at St Edmund's School, Canterbury; and they appear on the cover of this book. The old arms may be seen in the Chapter House at Canterbury Cathedral, among the set of heraldic bearings of the Archbishops; and they are likewise used at St Edmund's House, Cambridge, and St Edmund's Hall, Oxford. With respect to the latter place, there is also a further error, for, according to Wood,† it is not connected with St Edmund at all, but with Edmund, a citizen of Oxford during the thirteenth century, and its right name should be "Edmund's Hall."

"*Gaudeamus omnes in Domino*, as, at last, we know the arms of our heavenly patron, St Edmund of Canterbury.

"Dom Wilfrid Wallace, O.S.B., of Erdington Priory in Warwickshire (who was bred at Old Hall), in his *Life of St Edmund of Canterbury* (1893), was the first, I take it, to point the way to the right coat-of-arms, for up to then we were all happy with a coat-of-arms which we thought right, but which was unknown to our forefathers of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. The blazon of the wrong coat is: *Or, a cross patonce Gules, between three sea-pies (or oyster-catchers) proper*. It had, however, a variant; the blazon was: *Gules, a cross patonce Or, between four Cornish choughs (or sea-pies) proper*.

"Old Hall College, however, is in no way to blame for having adopted this coat of private adventure, as, at the

* *Edmundian*, December 1895, p. 23.

† *Hist. Ant.*, ii., 9.

request of the Rev. Thomas Parkinson to the Heralds' College, asking for the arms of St Edmund of Canterbury, the Lancaster Herald of the day (now Sir Albert Woods, Garter King of Arms, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.) sent a *trick*, or drawing, of the wrong arms, with a very polite letter, which was on view in the old upstairs library at our centenary celebration in 1893. The case seemed strengthened, as St Edmund's Hall at Oxford had used this coat-of-arms for probably over a century. Williment gave the same in his *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*, as well as Bedford in his *Blazon of the Episcopacy*. To heraldic students, however, the coat did not recommend itself as genuine. The *trick* was the same as that of Abingdon Abbey in Berkshire, the blazon, however, changed. This looked like a muddle. The blazon of the Abbey coat is : *Argent, a cross patonce between four martlets sable*; so the white shield became gold, the black cross red, and the birds remained proper. The variants of the birds are curious—*i.e.*, sea-pies, Cornish choughs, and martlets. Mr Buckler, Surrey Herald Extraordinary, even went so far as to say that St Edmund took the Cornish choughs from the coat-of-arms assigned to his great predecessor, St Thomas of Canterbury, and, as St Edmund had preached a crusade, had placed a red cross on his own shield. But enough. The story of the finding of the true arms assigned to St Edmund of Canterbury, namely : *Azure, on the three suns in splendour proper, as many annulets Gules*, must now be told.

"Dom Wilfrid Wallace, O.S.B., in his researches for St Edmund's life, came across, at the British Museum, the common seal of St Edmund's Collegiate Church at Salisbury. It is of oval shape, and the device is a seated figure, in a canopied niche, of St Edmund of Canterbury in Mass vestments, over which he wears his Roman Pall. His right hand is raised in blessing, and in his left he holds his one-barred Archbishop's Cross of Canterbury. Below the niche is a small kneeling figure of Walter de la Wyle, Bishop of Salisbury, the founder of the College. The legend on the verge of the seal is broken up into four parts by the canopy of St Edmund's niche, by the kneeling figure of Bishop de la Wyle in base, as well as by two shields of arms, which are, as it were, in fess. These shields claim our attention. The blazon of the sinister

shield is: *Azure, a chevron between three castles Or*, which St George's MSS. in the Heralds' College assigned to Walter de la Wyle, who was Bishop of Salisbury from 1263 to 1271. The dexter shield—*On three suns in splendour, as many annulets*—Dom Wallace says, "are probably the arms of St Edmund" (see his *List of Illustrations*, p. xli.). I at once saw that Dom Wallace was on the right track for regaining the true arms assigned to St Edmund. The puzzle, however, was to find out the true colour of the field, and of the charges, and to confirm Dom Wallace's suggestion. In the library of the Heralds' College I at once began my researches, and carefully went through all the fifteenth and sixteenth century *Ordinaries of Arms*, and at last, in a most precious book of the time of Henry VII. (press mark L 10), I came to a page wholly given up to arms of saints, and over a blue shield charged with three red rings, on as many golden suns, I saw inscribed, "Sanctus Edmundus de P." The scribe was quite English enough, and evidently could not spell the outlandish name Pontigny. What Dom Wallace wanted was now found, and the seal and MS. confirming each other, Dom Wallace's suggestion is proved to be true. Dom Wallace is satisfied, and explains the shield as follows:—

"There can be no doubt that the three suns represent the Holy Trinity, hence the field is azure, to represent heaven; and it is evident that the three rings or circles are in consequence of that open vision of St Edmund's, when his blessed mother Mabel appeared to him after her holy death, and drew in his right hand three circles, in which she wrote the names of the Three Divine Persons—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

"It only remains to say that in the Mediæval Department of the British Museum is a glass quarry painted in yellow stain, in which three circles are interlaced and slipped, with the legend, *Amor est Deus*. This emblem I have noticed in St Edmund's hand, in a painting of the saint which existed at Old Hall in one of the students' rooms, in the new wing, in 1866."

APPENDIX G

EXPULSION OF THE FATHERS OF ST EDMUND FROM PONTIGNY

WHILST the foregoing pages were passing through the press, the sad news reached us that in consequence of the new French law of Associations, the Fathers of St Edmund have been forced to leave Pontigny. The body of St Edmund remains there, as well as the right arm in its separate reliquary. These belong to the Bishop of the diocese, and will be under the care of a secular *curé*. Most of the other memorials of St Edmund, including the remains of the vestments in which the body was clad from the time of the Translation in 1247 till about sixty years ago, and likewise the original bull of canonisation, belong to the Fathers, and were removed in good time to a place of security. Under the new state of things the shrine itself will no doubt be well cared for, but there is no fund for keeping the immense church in repair, and it will probably once more fall into a state of dilapidation.

In the text of the present work it was found impossible to alter all the allusions to the state of things at Pontigny, which are spoken of as though still permanent. It has, therefore, been left throughout exactly as it was when it went to press.

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

FRONTISPIECE.

St Edmund of Canterbury.

(From a fresco in the Church at Frindsbury, near Rochester.)

THE fresco here reproduced was discovered in 1882, when the church was being restored. The church itself dates from about the year 1075. It was repaired in 1404 by Richard Young, Bishop of Rochester, and either then or later, the windows of the chancel were blocked up. Their existence was entirely unknown when the last restoration was begun. When they were discovered, and the bricks and plaster removed, frescoes or paintings were found on four of the jambs. The only one with a name over it is St Edmund, which is spelt in what was formerly the common way, *Eadmund*. The other three appear to represent St Lawrence, St Mary Magdalen, and St William of Perth. They are believed to have been painted about the middle of the thirteenth century, and consequently within a few years of the death of St Edmund. The arrangement of his hair is characteristic of the period, and resembles that which can be seen in the coins of that time. We can hardly suppose that it was intended to be strictly a portrait; but its general characteristics are not unlike those of the Saint, so far as they are now discernible from his body at Pontigny. The name is now only with difficulty discernible.

ABINGDON.

General View of Abingdon (page 1).

The quaint old-fashioned town of Abingdon, where St Edmund was born, is situated on the Thames, at its junction with the river Ock, about six miles south of Oxford; the long, tapering spire of St Helen's being visible for many miles round. The church now standing is of later date than St Edmund's time. The oldest parts

are the north aisle and tower, which appear to date from some period of the thirteenth century. It is of a curious, irregular shape, having two aisles on each side of the nave, and is as broad as it is long—a feature said to be shared by only one other church in England, that of St Nicholas, at Great Yarmouth.

In the thirteenth century, if we may judge by the numerous allusions in Matthew Paris and elsewhere, Abingdon must have been an important town, with a famous market. The chief industries were in cloth, and in hemp and rope-making. At the present day its position is somewhat isolated, as the main railway line to Oxford avoids it by more than two miles. This fact is due to the inhabitants of Abingdon themselves, who, at the time when railways were new, expressly petitioned that the main line might avoid their town. They have since had leisure to repent of their action, for its result has naturally been that the town does not develop, and at the present day it has little importance beyond that due to its position on the river, and its country market.

Abingdon Cross and Church of St Nicholas (page 3).

(Seventeenth century.)

This picture is copied from one of the gables of the almshouses facing the river. These almshouses form part of what is known as Christ's Hospital, one portion of which was built in the seventeenth century, and the remainder in the reign of Queen Anne. The old Cross of Abingdon, was said to contain part of one of the nails of the Crucifixion. Devotion to the True Cross was traditional at Abingdon, as the dedication of St Helen's sufficiently testifies. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was a town gild of the Holy Rood. The Cross of Abingdon stood in the centre of the market-place, on the spot now occupied by the Jubilee statue of Queen Victoria. To the north side of the ancient market-place now stands the Queen's Hotel and other buildings; and on the south side a seventeenth century town-hall, designed by the well-known Catholic architect, Inigo Jones. On the east side was the Church of St Nicholas, behind which stood the Abbey, the ruins of which are shown in the background.

Church of St Nicholas and Abbey Gateway (page 4).

(Modern.)

On the east side of the old market-place may be seen the ancient Abbey gateway, adjacent to the Church of St Nicholas. The existing gateway, in the perpendicular style, dates from the latter part of the fourteenth century, or nearly two centuries after St Edmund's time. The front of the Church of St Nicholas, however,

is much older. The lower part contains some evidently Norman work, and must have been in existence when St Edmund was a boy. In the chronicle of Abingdon Abbey * a chapel of St Nicholas is mentioned as the property of the Abbey, which must be the same as the present church. It has, of course, been added to several times, especially by Abbot Nicholas (1289-1307), who partially rebuilt it. Mabel appears to have been buried within this church, "in a stone before the rood, on the south side." † On her tombstone was written the well-known inscription, "HIC TUMULATA JACET MABILIA FLOS VIDUARUM, CUJUS VITA FUIT VIRTUTUM NORMA MORUM."

Ruins of the Abbey (pages 6 and 7).

(Exterior of Prior's Rooms—Dormitory.)

In mediæval times the Abbey was the feature of the town. It was ancient—so ancient that its foundation is lost in obscurity; but after the ravages of the Danes it had been founded a second time as a colony from Glastonbury. Its school became famous, and more than one member of a royal family was brought up there. Amongst others may be mentioned Henry I., son of William the Conqueror, who received at Abingdon the education which earned for him the title of "Beauclerc." At an earlier date still, the school had attracted the notice of King Edward the Confessor, who visited it in company with his queen, and settled on it a small endowment in perpetuity.

Mabel and her children appear to have regularly frequented the Abbey church rather than the parish church of St Helen, and it was no doubt for this reason that she was buried in what was then a chapel belonging to the Abbey, and adjacent to it. It does not appear, however, that St Edmund ever came under the direct control of the Abbey. His school days were spent, not at Abingdon, but at Oxford, and the general influx thither seems to have caused the Abbey school to decline, for it came to an end about this time. The Abbey itself lasted on till the reign of Henry VIII., when it shared the fate of all such institutions in this country. ‡ There are but few remains left, and these for the most part belong to a time after that of St Edmund. The fourteenth century gateway has been already mentioned. Perhaps the oldest part now standing is what is known as the Prior's rooms, with a very curious chimney, which is believed to date from the very beginning of the thirteenth

* Vol. ii., p. 327.

† Wallace, p. 34, note. See Appendix B. (3).

‡ For an account of its suppression, see Gasquet, ii., p. 293.

century, if not even earlier. Adjacent to the Prior's rooms are the dormitories, not for the monks, but for guests. Apparently they slept on the ground floor, and had their dining-room above. A mill still exists, on the site of the ancient monastic one, though of course it has been modernised in construction. The "Monks' Walk" is on the other side of the stream, but there is no very definite tradition about it.

Until lately, all the remains of the monastery formed part of extensive brewery buildings, and in consequence they have suffered much rough usage, openings having been cut in the walls, or the like. Recently, however, they have been acquired by the town, and now all the antiquities are well cared for.

St Edmund's Lane (page 9).

The exact spot where the house of Edward, or Reinald, and Mabel Rich stood can be identified with some approach to exactness. The tradition of its site was perpetuated by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, who in 1288 built a chapel there, in honour of the Saint, after whom he was named, and whom he had seen in a vision. Thus the house was pulled down many centuries ago; but the chapel existed comparatively lately, and there are records to show where it used to stand. The little lane or alley passing close to it is to this day known as "St Edmund's Lane." It stretches from the present Ock Street to West St Helen's Street, and the site of the chapel, now occupied by a malt-house, is at a bend halfway along the lane. Part of the ancient wall of the chapel appears to be still standing.

The Lonesome Tree (page 13).

This is a well-known tree, in the part now known as "the Park." It is an elm, and may easily be recognised, being surrounded by railings. Though no longer what its name indicates, it is nevertheless evidently very much older than any other trees near it. It used to be known as "St Edmund's Tree." A vague tradition asserted that it marked the spot where the Infant Jesus had appeared to him. This, however, is unlikely, for at the time of the vision, St Edmund was at school at Oxford, and the manuscripts expressly mention that he was out playing with his companions. It is hardly likely that they would have wandered six or seven miles from the school. Another tradition asserts, with greater probability, that there was a parish church near there, dedicated to St Leonard,

in which St Edmund used to hear Mass, and that the connection with his name arose in that manner. In any case, the tree is interesting as having been long associated with the name of St Edmund.

PARIS.

Cathedral of Notre Dame (page 16).

There is very little left in modern Paris to remind one of St Edmund. The only building of importance which dates from his time is the Cathedral, which was begun 1163, and was building during all the time he was in Paris. The Cathedral school was ancient, dating back to the time of Charlemagne, who was in a sense its founder. Formerly there were two separate churches, one dedicated to St Stephen, and the other already known as "Notre Dame." These were both demolished to make room for the present Cathedral. The school was surrounded by cloisters, in the position now occupied by the Rue Cloître Notre Dame.

One of the chief schools was that of St Geneviève, the patroness of the city. The devotion to her dates back continuously to the time of her death, at the beginning of the sixth century. The present shrine is in the Church of St Etienne du Mont, which was rebuilt some three hundred years ago. Other famous schools were those of St Victor and St Germain, both likewise on the southern bank of the Seine, where we still find the Latin quarter.

The development of Paris as a university may perhaps be dated from the closing years of the eleventh century, when Godfrey of Boulogne, Bishop of Paris, established his school there. From this time began the general influx from all parts, which the name University implies, and by St Edmund's time it was the centre of the intellectual world, and the students were numbered by thousands.

Church of St Merri (page 18).

The church with which St Edmund was chiefly connected was that of St Mederic or Merri, which is north of the Seine, and not far from the eastern end of the Rue de Rivoli. Here we are told he used to regularly attend the night offices, so that he must have lodged in the vicinity. The present building is of the sixteenth century; but the crypt is much older, and it is very probable that St Edmund often prayed in it.

The oldest church in Paris is that of St Severin, which stands on the southern side of the Seine, and is surrounded by ancient buildings. Part of it dates back to the thirteenth century; but hardly to the time when St Edmund was in Paris.

OXFORD.

Map of Oxford (page 29).

St Edmund knew Oxford in its beginnings as a University, not only before any of the colleges were in existence, but before the advent of the friars. His work seems to have been to prepare the way for them. He may have remained just long enough to see the Dominicans there; the Franciscans and others did not come till several years after he had left. There were, however, a considerable number of religious houses belonging to Benedictines, Cistercians, Augustinians (or Canons Regular), and others. The Canons Regular and Benedictines had each three houses. The celebrated Oseney Abbey belonged to the former, and was perhaps the first organised school connected with Oxford, so that the University may be said to have grown up around it. Moreover, the Oseney Chronicles form one of the chief sources of the history of the time when Oxford was rising into prominence. There is nothing now left of the Abbey: the last remains were demolished many years ago to make room for the Great Western Railway.

There are still some relics left of the Oxford of St Edmund. The present St Mary's, the official church of the University, is not indeed the same building that he knew; but it is undoubtedly on the same site; and much the same can be said of the tower of the town Church of St Martin,* the church itself having been pulled down some eighty years ago to make room for the traffic. The Church of St Frideswide, now known as Christchurch Cathedral, contains some Norman work, and the Tower of St Michael's, in the Cornmarket, is earlier still, dating back to Saxon times. This tower serves to mark the position of Bocardo, or the North Gate, of the city. Considerable portions of the ancient city walls are still standing, and the course of the rest can be fairly well traced.

Besides these and other spots connected with the general history of Oxford, some additional sites identified specially with St Edmund are marked and numbered in red on the map:—

1. *Lady Chapel of St Mary's*.—This is probably the place where St Edmund made his vow before the statue of the Blessed Virgin.†

* Commonly known as Carfax, which is said to be contracted from *quatre voies*, at the meeting of the four ways.

† Both Dom Wallace (p. 52), and the Baroness de Paravicini (p. 38), give reasons for considering that it was certainly there. Nevertheless, this is not entirely easy to reconcile with the sermon on the Translation of St Edmund, recently discovered in the Sir T. Phillipp's Library at Cheltenham: see p. 246.

This stood on the north side of the church—for the Lanercost chronicler speaks of St Edmund leaving by the north door, and across the churchyard was the Grammar School where he received his early education ; but the precise site of this is not known.

2. *School Street*.—There are said to have been thirty-two schools about here, and it was the centre for teachers and lecturers. School Street stretched from High Street, past the west end of St Mary's Church and churchyard.

3. *St Edmund's School*.—According to Wood, the place where St Edmund usually taught was that now occupied by the east end of the chapel of Brasenose College. A building formerly stood on this spot, traditionally known as St Edmund's School. Very probably St Edmund also lived there.

4. *Site of Ancient Chapel of the Blessed Virgin*.—This seems to have been the chapel built by St Edmund, in which he used to hear Mass every morning (see *Reliquiæ Hernanæ*, vol. ii., p. 116, note). It has served several purposes since it ceased to be used as a chapel. At one time it was the property of the delegates of the Clarendon Press. At the present day it is a shop, and the only relic of its former state is a small stone carving of the Annunciation, on the outside wall.

5. *Site of the Ancient Hospital of St John*.—Founded in the reign of King John, and endowed by St Edmund with the money which he obtained from the sale of his home at Abingdon, which he inherited at the death of Mabel. The hospital was rebuilt by Henry III. in 1233, and lasted till the middle of the fifteenth century, when the ground was given for the foundation of Magdalen College. Some slight traces of the ancient building can still be seen.

6. *All Saints' Church*.—There is still a churchyard on the north side, which must have been the scene of St Edmund's sermon when the miracle was worked, so that the rain which was falling everywhere around did not fall on his hearers. On the south side is High Street, which is slightly down hill to Magdalen. This corresponds with the description in the MS., that "almost a river rolled down on that side."

7. *St Edward's Parish*, where the Dominicans had a school, in which St Edmund also taught.

8. *Church of St Clement*, near which was St Edmund's Well. It is said that miracles were worked with the water ; but the practice of using it was comparatively early prohibited : see Wallace, p. 49.

The sermon was preached in St Mary's itself about the beginning of the fourteenth century ; and recounting this incident, the preacher alludes to the statue as *quædam virginis immolatæ imago*. There is, to say the least, some difficulty in believing that the statue described in these words was actually in the church, and within a few yards of the preacher.

Carving on the Exterior of the Ancient Chapel of the Blessed Virgin (page 30).

See above, No. 4. The carving is undoubtedly old, but by no means so old as St Edmund's time.

Great St Mary's (page 33).

There is nothing left of the St Mary's which St Edmund knew. The spire is the oldest part of the present church. It is of the early decorated style, and apparently put up before the close of the thirteenth century. The remainder is of different dates, and all later. The exact position of the Lady Chapel in which St Edmund used to pray is not known.

Christchurch Cathedral (page 37).

The devotion to St Frideswide, the patroness of Oxford, takes us back to Saxon times. She lived in the eighth century, and was the daughter of one of the Saxon kings, in whose dominions Oxford lay. The latter built a convent in the town, into which his daughter entered as a nun. Later on she retired to Binsey, a village about a mile outside the town, where she died about the year 740. Her body was brought back to Oxford, and buried in the convent church, which was afterwards known as St Frideswide's, and her shrine became a celebrated place of pilgrimage for many centuries. Numerous miracles are said to have taken place at her intercession. The old convent seems to have come to an end during the ravages of the Danes, and as many of the Oxford townsmen took refuge in the tower of St Frideswide's, Ethelred the Unready set fire to the church, and it was burnt to the ground. It was rebuilt immediately afterwards, however, and endowed afresh, being this time entrusted to the care of the secular clergy. Then, early in the twelfth century, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, and Chancellor of King Henry I., established a priory of Canons Regular there. The church was accordingly rebuilt, and much of the Norman work still visible must date from that time.

Remains of the Shrine of St Frideswide (page 38).

The devotion to St Frideswide continued throughout mediæval times. So lately as the year 1518 we read of Catherine of Aragon leaving her husband at Abingdon Abbey, whilst she made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Frideswide.

The priory ceased to exist soon after this ; but its end was peaceable. Cardinal Wolsey obtained from Pope Clement VII. leave to use the ground and monastery for the foundation of the "Cardinal's College," afterwards called Christchurch by Henry VIII., and the

monks dispersed, the Prior going to Oseney, and the others to different houses of their Order. Wolsey rebuilt a portion of the church, but a considerable part of the old one still remains. In 1546 the See of Oxford was established, and Christchurch was fixed upon for its Cathedral.

The shrine of St Frideswide did not long survive after this. It shared the fate of so many others throughout the land. A simple inscription was written over it by one of the Reformers: "HIC REQUIESCIT RELIGIO CUM SUPERSTITIONE." The picture here given shows what is left of the shrine. The old watch-tower still remains, wherein a watchman used to be on guard, to protect the jewels and riches of the shrine.

The church at Binsey is still standing, and parts of it are very old. There is a Norman porch, which must have existed in St Edmund's time; and hard by is the well called St Margaret's, which is said to have gushed up at the prayers of St Frideswide.

Iffley Church (page 40).

This is one of the most characteristic specimens of Norman architecture extant in this country. It must have been familiar to St Edmund, and can hardly have changed much in appearance since he used to pray therein.

Ancient Hospital of St John (page 43).

(From a drawing by Matthew Paris, in the Historia Anglorum. MS. Roy., 14 c., vii.)

This is the building put up by Henry III., but on the site of that endowed by St Edmund.

Tower of St Michael's Church (page 45).

The tower is all that is left of the ancient Church of St Michael. There are some pieces of ancient stained glass in the interior. One of these, on the north side of the chancel, represents St Edmund, and is said to be fourteenth century work. It is very small, and probably in no sense a portrait, but it is interesting as a fragment of mediæval devotion in his honour.

SALISBURY.

Salisbury Cathedral—Exterior (page 49).

The See of Sarum was originally founded by Bishop Herman in 1076, and was rendered glorious by the episcopate of St Osmund, nephew of William the Conqueror, from 1078 to 1099. This was

"Old Sarum," a fortified city on a hill above the present one. The removal to New Sarum, or the Salisbury we know, took place only a short time before St Edmund was appointed Treasurer. The founder of the new see was Bishop Richard Poor, who had been translated from Chichester to succeed his brother at Old Sarum in 1217. He began the new Cathedral at New Sarum in 1220, on a site previously occupied, and it was continued without intermission by himself and his successors, until its completion in 1266. Hence we get its chief feature, namely, its unity of design, the style being "Early English" throughout. The only part not built at that time was the spire, which was added early in the fourteenth century. It is 404 feet in height, and is said to be the most beautiful work of its kind in Europe. But, however good its effect as a centrepiece for the Cathedral, it has been a continual source of apprehension, as owing to its weight, the arches underneath were quickly driven out of the perpendicular, and it was only by a careful arrangement of iron ties, put in at different times, that its fall has been averted. At the present day the summit is nearly two feet out of the perpendicular.

Salisbury Cathedral (Interior).—Lady Chapel (page 51).

The Cathedral took forty-six years to build, and was not completed till long after St Edmund's time; but part of it was in use while he was there. The earliest portion to be completed was the Lady Chapel, which was solemnly opened in 1225. This is therefore one of the few buildings in existence in which St Edmund must have often said Mass. It stands at the extreme east end of the Cathedral, and is shown in the previous illustration. Inside, the position of the three altars which were consecrated in 1225 can easily be identified; but the sites where they formerly stood in the north and south aisles respectively are now occupied by large ugly monuments. A slab in the Lady Chapel is said to be that formerly over the grave of St Osmund, having been brought over from Old Sarum. St Osmund himself is said to be buried somewhere close by, under the Lady Chapel.

Tomb of William Longsword (page 60).

William Longsword, first Earl of Salisbury, and natural son of Henry II., was the first person to be buried in the present Cathedral. He had been converted from an evil life by St Edmund, and died soon afterwards a holy death. His tomb originally stood in the Lady Chapel, which was the only part then in existence. Nearly all the monuments were re-arranged at the end of the eighteenth century, when a great deal of restoration work was done

to the Cathedral. They are now placed, without reference to date, on the long, raised pavement which stretches under the bases of all the pillars on both sides of the nave, forming one of the features of this Cathedral. It is said that it was originally built there because of the marshy nature of the soil, in order to provide a stronger foundation for the pillars, by distributing their weight. As the monuments stand to-day, the tomb of Longsword is the nearest to the transept, on the south side. Adjacent to it is the tomb of Walter de la Wyle, who also had known St Edmund, and was Bishop of Salisbury from 1264 to 1270. The tomb stood originally in the chapel dedicated to St Edmund, where he was buried by his own special desire. This chapel was the middle one of the three in the north transept. There are likewise monuments, believed to represent Bishop Richard Poor and Bishop Robert de Bingham; but there seems to be some difficulty in identifying them with certainty. During his episcopate, Walter de la Wyle likewise founded the present Church of St Edmund in the town, and endowed it for the support of secular Canons.

Calne Church—Exterior (page 70).

The village of Calne is more than thirty miles from Salisbury, but the living had been the property of the diocese since 1115. At the present day the town contains between three and four thousand inhabitants, with a large parish church. The exterior of this is apparently of late fifteenth century work; but it is built over the older part, which is still standing.*

Calne Church—Interior (page 71).

In the interior, the old part can be seen at once. The lower part of the nave consists of round arches, evidently Norman, and dating from about 1100 to 1130. This part therefore existed in St Edmund's time. The arches of the choir, which at first sight appear to be similar, are in reality of much later date. It seems that the old Norman tower, which stood over the middle of the church, showed signs for many years of falling; but no heed was paid, and eventually, about the year 1628, it collapsed. A new tower was built in 1645, in a somewhat different position, over the south transept, some say by Inigo Jones, and about two-thirds of the chancel, which had been demolished by the fall of the tower, was rebuilt in the style of the period, with round arches. The remaining third part of the chancel, at the east end, retains its

* For these and the following particulars about Calne, I am indebted to the kindness of Rev. John Duncan, M.A., the Rector.

pointed arches of about 1470-90, and was apparently unharmed by the fall of the tower. The upper part of the church is, like the outside, of late fifteenth century style.

The churchyard at Calne is probably the site of the curious vision of the dead which the Lanercost chronicler relates as having been seen by St Edmund: see p. 61. The exact site of the ancient rectory is also known, for, owing to an exchange which was effected, the present vicarage was built upon it. This, therefore, is on the spot where St Edmund was engaged at his studies when the announcement arrived that he had been made Archbishop of Canterbury.

CANTERBURY.

Consecration of St Edmund (page 77).

MS. Roy., 14 C. vii.

From the *Historia Anglorum* of Matthew Paris. The inscription refers to the consecrating prelate, Roger le Noir, Bishop of London: "Doctor Theologus a Doctore, sollempnis Prædicator a celebre Prædicatore, sanctus Præsul a sancto Præsule, feliciter consecratur."

St Edmund as Peacemaker (page 83).

MS. Roy., 14 C. vii.

Also from the *Historia Anglorum* of Matthew Paris. The following is the inscription: "Nota caritatem Beati Edmundi, qui pacificavit Gilebertum Marescallum et Comitem Canciæ,* et alios magnates Angliæ Domino Regi."†

Remains of City Walls (page 92).

The City of Canterbury is said to have been originally founded by the Romans as a defence for the ford of the river Stour, so that soldiers coming from the coast might secure uninterrupted access to London. The road along which they went was the celebrated Watling Street, which runs through Canterbury. In Saxon times it became the chief city of the kingdom of Kent; later it was given over to St Augustine for the use of the Archbishops, and so became the ecclesiastical centre of England.

* Hubert de Burgh.

† Remark the charity of Blessed Edmund, who reconciled Gilbert the Marshal, the Earl of Kent, and the other magnates of England, to the Lord King.

There was probably a wall round the city at a very early period. In the reign of Richard I. a new wall was built, with twenty-one turrets, and this was therefore less than fifty years old when St Edmund was Archbishop. Part of this wall is now standing, and the remains of several of the turrets may be seen.

Westgate (page 94).

There were formerly six gates into the town—Burgate, St George's Gate, Bidingate, Worthgate, Northgate, and Westgate. With one exception, they were all removed during the nineteenth century, to make room for the traffic. That exception is Westgate, which is still standing. The present gateway dates from the reign of Richard II. The road has been diverted, so that the traffic now passes round it—a simple expedient, which, had it been thought of earlier, might have saved the destruction of the other gates.

Mercery Lane (page 95).

This, the oldest street in the town, is opposite the Christchurch gateway leading to the Cathedral Close. It is said that one particular house in Mercery Lane has been used as a jeweller's shop continuously since before St Edmund's time.

Canterbury Cathedral—Exterior (page 97).

Although the See of Canterbury dates back to the time of King Ethelbert, the Cathedral now existing is not of such antiquity. The Cathedral of Saxon times was completely destroyed by fire in 1067, the year after the Conquest, and most of the adjoining monastery shared the same fate. The rebuilding of the Cathedral was taken in hand without delay by Archbishop Lanfranc, who erected a nave exactly on the site of the old one, and a new choir. He also built two towers at the west end, as well as a central one, with a gilt angel at the top, hence known as the "Angel Tower." Very little is now left, however, even of Lanfranc's work. The Angel Tower was replaced in the reign of Henry VII. by the present one, with a large bell, known as the "Bell Harry Tower," which is said to be twice the height of its predecessor. Lanfranc's choir was pulled down, and a larger one built, under Prior Ernulph, during the episcopate of St Anselm (1093-1109.) This new one, again, did not last very long; for in 1174, four years after the martyrdom of St Thomas, it was burnt down, and the present one was built to replace it. The nave was pulled down and rebuilt during the last twenty years of the fourteenth century.

Canterbury Cathedral—The Choir (page 99).

It will thus be seen that the choir is almost the only part of the Cathedral which exists to-day as it was when St Edmund was Archbishop. A curious combination of styles is apparent—a mixture of Norman and Early English. The original architect, William of Sens, became incapacitated by a fall from a scaffold, and the work was completed by another William, an Englishman. The choir is 180 feet in length, being the longest in any of the English cathedrals.

The Patriarchal Chair (page 101).

The throne used to stand behind the high altar, so that the Archbishop sat facing the people, in sight of all in the nave. As the chancel at Canterbury is raised unusually high above the nave, the elevation of the throne must have appeared very considerable when viewed from below. The ancient "Patriarchal Chair," as it is called, now stands at the east end of the Cathedral, in the part known as "Becket's Crown."*

Marriage of King Henry to Eleanor of Provence (page 103).

MS. Roy., 14 C. vii.

From the *Historia Anglorum* of Matthew Paris. The ceremony was performed by St Edmund.

Council of London (page 112).

MS. Roy., 14 C. vii.

Matthew Paris has left us two drawings of the Legatine Council: one in the *Chronica Majora*, the other in the *Historia Anglorum*. The one given here is from the latter. The Legate Otho is presiding, with St Edmund on his right.

Christchurch Cathedral and Monastery (page 117).

MS. Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 17, 1.

From Eadwine's Psalter: copied by kind permission from Cassell's *Canterbury*. The Cathedral appears as it was in the time of St Anselm (1093-1109). The "Angel Tower" can be seen in the middle, and four others, two at the east end, and two at the west end.

* The origin of this name is uncertain. One tradition asserts that it was so called because the crown of St Thomas's head, which had been cut off at his martyrdom, was kept and venerated there. Father Morris considers this the most probable explanation. See his *Lecture on Canterbury* (Catholic Truth Society), p. 13. See also his *Life of St Thomas*, p. 598.

Ruins of Monastery (page 118).

There is not much left of the ancient monastery. The ruins shown here are the most striking part. Some remains can be seen of the monks' dormitory; but the cloisters, and some of the other ruins are of later date than St Edmund's time.

Treasury of the Church (page 118).

This part was built in 1164, and was therefore familiar to St Edmund. The ground floor was open on the east and west; the actual strong-room was on the first floor.

Norman Staircase (page 119).

This led up to the old Almonry, now used as a school-house. The staircase was built by Lanfranc.

St Augustine's Abbey—Gateway (page 121).

Besides Christchurch, there was also another Benedictine Abbey, outside the town, which had been founded by St Augustine, and was dedicated to him after his death. It was not officially connected with the Cathedral, and had its own mitred Abbot. Indeed, it ranked above Christchurch, and at a council, its Abbot sat next below the Abbot of Monte Cassino. Many English saints were buried in the Abbey Church, beginning with St Augustine himself. The six Bishops who succeeded him were placed three on each side, and, together with St Augustine, were known as the seven patriarchs of England. For a century and a half after its foundation it was the regular burying-place for the Archbishops of Canterbury. St Ethelbert, St Bertha, and St Luidhard were likewise buried there. The ancient Abbey gateway is still standing, but it has been repaired and restored. The site of the Abbey is now occupied by an Anglican missionary college. Recently some excavations have been made on the site of the ancient chapel, and many relics of the past have been brought to light. Amongst these may be specially mentioned a lead coffin, complete with coffin-plate, of a ninth century abbot. Even his vestments in which he was buried were recognisable. The excavations are still proceeding.

St Martin's Church (page 133).

This is the oldest church in Canterbury, and probably the oldest in England. Parts of the walls are undoubtedly of Roman workmanship, and Mass used to be said here before the coming of St Augustine,

for St Bertha, wife of King Ethelbert, had brought her own chaplain, St Luidhard, over with her from France. A gateway is still shown, through which it is said that she used to pass on her way to Mass. On the arrival of St Augustine and his companions, St Martin's Church was given over to the new missionaries.

Shrine of St Thomas (page 143).

Cotton MS., Tib. E., viii., f. 169.

By the time of St Edmund, the pilgrimage to Canterbury had already assumed large proportions. The original tomb of St Thomas was in the crypt,* and consisted of plain masonry, with two round holes through which the pilgrims used to put their heads to kiss the coffin. Here it was that King Henry II. performed his well-known penance. During the episcopate of Stephen Langton, a new shrine was built above in the Trinity Chapel, behind the high altar, where St Thomas had said his first episcopal Mass; but the chapel had been rebuilt since his time, having been destroyed in the fire of 1174. The solemn translation of the relics to the new shrine took place in 1220. The ceremony was one of the most magnificent ever seen, even in the Middle Ages, and people came from all over Europe to assist at it. It is not impossible that St Edmund himself may have been present, though there is no record that he was. The new shrine attracted gifts both numerous and costly, and it was soon reputed to be the richest in the whole world. It was plundered of all its jewels and riches during the reign of Henry VIII., and there is nothing left of it now; but the bare ground still gives evidence of the piety of past ages, for the stones are worn away by the knees of pilgrims.

The sketch here reproduced was made after the shrine had been stripped. The following description is appended:—

“Tem. Henr. VIII. All above the stone work was first of wood, jewels of gold set with stone, covered with plates of gold, wrought upon with gold wire, then again with jewels, gold as brooches, images, angels, rings, ten or twelve together, clamped with gold into the ground of gold, the spoils of which filled two chests such as six or eight men could but convey one out of the church. At one side was a stone with an angel of gold, pointing thereunto, offered there by a King of France, which King Henry put into a ring, and wore on his thumb.”†

* A picture of the original tomb is to be seen in one of the painted windows above, in the Cathedral.

† See *Life of St Thomas*, by the Rev. John Morris, S.J., p. 479. The incompleteness of the sketch is due to damage of the MS. by fire.

PONTIGNY.

Bird's-eye View of the Ancient Abbey (page 150).

The Abbey of Pontigny lies about one hundred miles south of Paris, seventeen miles from Auxerre, and six from the St Florentin station on the main line to Lyons. In recent years a narrow-gauge railway has been built from Laroche, where all the express trains stop, and by means of this, the traveller can now be set down within a stone's throw of the monastery less than four hours after leaving Paris.

The Abbey church is still standing, and has not changed much in outward appearance since the days of St Edmund. It was not even then a new Abbey. Its foundation dates back to the early days of the Cistercian Order; it was the second of the four original great colonies from Citeaux, and was founded by St Stephen Harding in 1114.*

Not a stone is left of the original monastery. The old church, somewhat to the south-east of the present one, was still standing at the beginning of the eighteenth century; but it was in a very dilapidated condition, and was finally demolished in 1715. Close beside it stood the original Abbot's house, which was pulled down at the same time. The present church, together with what little of the monastery still remains, dates from about the middle of the twelfth century, and was due to the generosity of Thiébault the Great, Count of Champagne. The monks at that time were rapidly increasing in number, and Pontigny became the mother house of forty-five other monasteries, spread through France, Spain, Italy, and Hungary. The monks at Pontigny often numbered close on one hundred, and the early days were days of fervour and strict observance of the rule. Before St Edmund came, however, the monks had ceased to work with their hands, and devoted themselves to prayer and study. Around the monastery had grown up a village of serfs and other dependents of the Abbey, who tilled the soil. The forests had long since been cut down, and the land put under cultivation, so that the general appearance of the country was much as it is to-day.

From the time of its first foundation the Abbey had been closely connected with English history. The founder, Stephen

* The four original foundations from Citeaux were La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Morimond, in the order named. They were situated south, west, north, and east respectively of Citeaux, and this geographical fact has sometimes been pointed to as one of the causes of the rapid spread of the Cistercian Order. The Abbots of these five monasteries formed the General Chapter, which was one of its characteristics.

Harding, was an Englishman, and some of the most important charters were signed by Adrian IV., the English Pope ; and several distinguished Archbishops of Canterbury at one time or another found a refuge there. St Thomas was received by the monks for two years, from 1164 to 1166, while the church was still building, and to this day one of the side chapels is shown, on the epistle side, in which he is said to have had the vision of his future martyrdom. Archbishop Stephen Langton spent five years at Pontigny, from 1208 to 1213, during which period England lay under the Interdict. Other Bishops joined him, and one, the Bishop of Worcester, died there. St Edmund himself knew it well by repute, having only recently confirmed a grant in perpetuity which had been conferred by Stephen Langton, to be paid annually out of the Canterbury revenues to the Abbey, in recognition of the hospitality which he and his predecessors had received there.

No tradition survives to point out the position of the house in which St Edmund lived at Pontigny ; but a fairly probable conjecture can be made. Two of his biographers tell us it was the same house that St Thomas had occupied, while St Thomas's biographers assert that he and his companions lived in a series of monastic cells. These two apparently conflicting statements can perhaps be reconciled by the supposition that they lived in the old Abbot's house, described above, which in St Thomas's time would have formed part of the old monastery, but when St Edmund arrived, was the only part left.

After the new church was built, the old one was known as the "Chapel of St Thomas the Apostle." There seems some reason to think that it may have been so called in memory of St Thomas of Canterbury, who was born on 21st December, and, like St Edmund, was named after the saint of the day : see Appendix D.

Of the monastery at Pontigny comparatively little remains. The bird's-eye view here reproduced was made by order of the French Government after the Reign of Terror, in 1796, when the monastery was being pulled down. It conveys a good notion of the monastic grounds, and of the eighteenth century Abbot's house ; but owing apparently to some attempt at perspective, it gives no idea of the length of the church, and the large quadrangle of the monastery is hardly shown. The following references were appended :—

A. Entrance to the monastic enclosure.

B. Church.

C. Porch of the Church.

D. Main building, including the Chapter Room, Dormitory, and the rooms for the different community duties.

- E. Refectory and Kitchen.
- F. Vaulted Cellar and Granary.
- G. Abbot's House (built about 1750).
- H. Orangery.
- I. Prior's Rooms.
- K. Procurator's Rooms.
- L. Surgeon's House.
- M. Farmyard.
- N. Dove-cot.
- O. Kennels.
- P. Pond, with parapet on both sides.
- Q. Wall, six feet high, surrounding the monastic enclosure, which covered fifty acres.
- R. Branch of the Serrain. (The bed of the river runs outside, parallel to the wall Q.).
- S. Fountain; there was another one in the middle of the quadrangle of the Abbey.
- T. Cemetery (opened in 1764).
- U. Main road from St Florentin to Auxerre.

Of the buildings here enumerated, those marked B. D. E. F. and I. were standing in the thirteenth century, besides the wall round the property marked Q. Most of these are now gone, the building containing the cellar and granary above it being the chief one remaining. More than half of the old wall exists, and it shows the large size of the monastic grounds. The river Serrain used to be such an important boundary that it was popularly said that three Bishops and an Abbot might have met on the bridge which crosses it, each claiming jurisdiction.*

Abbey Church, Pontigny—Exterior (page 152).

The church is standing almost in its entirety. The chief change in appearance since those days is in the roof, which used to be of lead throughout, but is now of ordinary tiles. The view taken from the south side shows the great length of the church. There used to be a central tower in which the bells were placed; but no vestige of this remains.

Abbey Church, Pontigny—Interior (page 154).

The style of architecture of the church shows a combination of simplicity and massive grandeur, characteristic of the austere

* These were the Archbishop of Sens, the Bishops of Auxerre and Langres, and the Abbot of Pontigny. To this bridge Pontigny owes its name,

reformers of the Benedictine Order. It was begun about the year 1150, and continued without break till its completion, so that an entire unity of design is manifest* in the same way as at Salisbury; and it affords one of the very earliest specimens, if not quite the earliest, of the pointed arch. The total length is 352 feet, that of the transepts being 150 feet, and the width of the nave 70 feet. There are twenty-three side chapels arranged round the aisles outside the choir. Like all Cistercian churches, it was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and the patronal feast was the Assumption.

The arrangement of the interior in the thirteenth century differed considerably from that of to-day. The ancient stalls are believed to have been behind the high altar, around the back of the apse, and the high altar itself must therefore have been much more forward than now. The first shrine of St Edmund was placed over it.

Abbey Church, Pontigny—North Aisle (page 154).

Taken from the western end of the church.

Monks' Washing-place (page 156).

This is an interesting relic of the ancient monastery. It used to stand in the middle of the quadrangle. The water came out of the fountain, into the trough, and flowed out through forty openings, which can still be seen in the side of the basin, each opening or spout serving for one monk. It now stands in the middle of the garden.

Soissy (page 159).

The ancient priory of Soissy came to an end during the French Revolution, and the buildings were left in ruins. But the tradition of St Edmund has never died out there. A chapel has been built out of the ruins, and twice every year, on November 16, the Feast of the Saint's death, and on Whit-Monday, the Feast of the Translation, people come from all the country around to venerate his memory. Considerable portions of the massive walls of the ancient priory still exist, and form part of the walls of the chapel. There is also a spring hard by, known as St Edmund's.

Soissy is some seven or eight miles from Provins, and although within a mile of the main line between Paris and Basle, it stands in a very secluded position, away from any human habitation. Mass is said there every Sunday by a priest from a neighbouring parish; but the number of people who assist at it is very small. At Provins itself, in the Church of St Quiriace, a chasuble is shown which is

* This unity is now broken by the Renaissance rood screen put up towards the end of the seventeenth century.

believed to have been worn by St Edmund, though some of the embroidery on it is evidently of later date. There is likewise a cap and one of his buskins. These were all rescued from the Abbey of St James on its suppression; but the relics of the heart and *viscera*, which were buried in the choir of the Abbey church, have perished.

Abbey Church, Pontigny—Front, showing Porch (page 167).

The front of the church at Pontigny has changed but little since the day on which St Edmund's body arrived there, November 20, 1240. The porch is one of the most interesting parts of the whole building. There it was that pilgrims, who afterwards flocked to Pontigny in large numbers, used to sleep, waiting for the doors to be opened in the morning; and in the early days after St Edmund's death, when women were still forbidden to enter the church, they used to wait in this porch, where one of the monks would bring them a relic to be venerated. In later times it is said to have served as a burial-place for the lay brothers, till the present cemetery was opened in 1764. The choir monks were always buried in the church or chapter room.

Stone of St Edmund's Ring (page 171).

The history of this ring is given by Matthew Paris by the side of his drawing, here reproduced: "*Hunc lapidem pretiosum Domini Nicholai, videlicet saphirum fere rotundum et coloris remissi, dedit Dominus Nicholaus, aurifaber de Sancto Albano oriundus, Deo et Ecclesiæ Sancti Albani. Hæc gemma quandoque fuit Beati Edmundi, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi; postea vero Sancti Roberti, fratris ejus; postea vero memorati Domini Nicholai. In limbo siquidem castonis subtilem litteræ insculpuntur nigellatæ; et crux cum crucifixo figuratur. Ponderat autem sex denarios.*"* It appears that this is not the ring which St Edmund was wearing at the time of his death, and about which the miracle is recorded, as that ring was afterwards placed in the treasury at Pontigny. Nor was it the ring of his espousals before the statue of Our Lady at Oxford, for its description does not agree therewith. It must there-

* "This precious stone, belonging to Dom Nicholas, namely, a sapphire almost round, and of pale colour, was presented by Dom Nicholas, a goldsmith, and a native of St Albans, to God and to the Church of St Alban. This jewel formerly belonged to Blessed Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury; and afterwards to Saint Robert, his brother; and afterwards to the aforesaid Dom Nicholas. In the edge of the ring is a minute inscription, in letters of black; and a figure of a crucifix. It weighs six drachms,"

fore have been one which he had worn at some other time, but probably during his archiepiscopate. No ring of St Edmund is now extant.

Chapel in which St Edmund was buried (page 175).

According to local tradition, St Edmund was buried in the first instance under the middle of the choir. When after three months his body was removed to a "more honourable position," it is believed to have been placed in the chapel at the east end of the church, behind the apse, which became known in consequence as "St Edmund's Chapel." At the time of the Translation, it was elevated above the high altar, in a plain stone sarcophagus. The following was the inscription :—

ANNO DOMINI 1240 XVI KAL. DECEMBRIS TRANSIIT
BEATUS EDMUNDUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS CANTUARIENSIS,
PRIMAS TOTIUS ANGLIÆ.

ANNO DOMINI 1247 V ID. JUNII, TRANSLATUM EST CORPUS
SANCTI EDMUNDI.

After two years the new and more costly shrine was substituted, which lasted till the invasion of the Huguenots three centuries later. Unfortunately no drawing or picture of it has been preserved. We can only imagine what it was like from one or two very meagre descriptions given incidentally. We learn that it was supported over the high altar by four massive copper pillars, and was profusely decorated with gold and silver and precious stones, and that the outside of the case containing the body was elaborately carved. The ambition of the monks was to rival even the shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury, which was said to be the richest in the world.

Abbey Church, Pontigny—Back View (page 195).

In this picture may be seen the remains of the ancient spiral staircase used by the monks. It led from the first floor of the monastery to the north transept of the church.

St Edmund's Mitre (page 205).

This is the mitre in which he was buried. It was taken from the body when the new vestments were put on in 1872. The remains of the old vestments are likewise preserved. There is very little left of the chasuble, which was in great part cut up for relics by M. l'Abbé Cabias in 1825 ; but the stole, maniple, and buskins are still in a fair state of preservation. On the stole are the arms of Castile, thus confirming the tradition that at his Translation St Edmund was vested in vestments presented by Queen Blanche of Castile, mother of St Louis,

Shrine of St Edmund (page 217).*(Modern.)*

The present shrine is comparatively modern. The large angels supporting it belong to the closing years of the seventeenth century, when the church was being repaired after the ravages of the Huguenots. They were originally, however, in the same position as the copper pillars of the old shrine, and the body of St Edmund was elevated, as before, over the high altar. This was its position at the time of Dom Martène's visit in 1708, which explains his statement that he said Mass *under* the shrine. The case containing it was of simple, unpretending construction, of gilt wood, and a great contrast to its predecessor. The top was made of glass, and above it there was an iron grill, through which the interior was visible. The remains of the ancient pillars were melted to form six large candlesticks and a cross, which were placed upon the high altar, the base of the cross forming the tabernacle. The present arrangement dates from the year 1749, when Abbot Grillot put up a new high altar, facing the new stalls, and moved the shrine to the back of the apse. The four angels had to be placed somewhat differently, so as to allow two of them to fit between the hindmost pillars of the apse. These have remained there ever since, as also has the canopy overhead; but the case containing the body has been twice renewed, once by M. l'Abbé Cabias in 1825, and lastly by the Oblates of St Edmund at the restoration of the shrine in 1872. There is now a convenient staircase at the back, and the relics can be viewed through some little square openings, fitted with glass, and closed with wooden shutters outside.

Tomb of Hugh de Macon (page 221).

Hugh de Macon, the first Abbot of Pontigny, was a friend of St Bernard. His tomb was, in accordance with the Cistercian rule, a plain stone sarcophagus; and it can still be seen on the Gospel side of the choir. It is now, however, empty, having been desecrated by the Huguenots in 1568. The original stone slab has been replaced on the top; but its defaced surface still shows the marks of the violence of the Huguenot invaders. There is no inscription, but a plain cross is carved on it.

Abbey Church, Pontigny—Interior: Monks' Choir (page 224).

The present stalls date from about the same time as the angels under the shrine, namely, about the end of the seventeenth century. The number of monks at that time was less than thirty, but evidently hopes were entertained of the monastery some day returning to its former state of prosperity, for the new stalls were built to

accommodate one hundred. They were built in front of the altar, and it was a natural consequence that the new high altar was built further back, and the position of the shrine altered as above described.

Abbey Church, Pontigny—North Side, showing Remains of Cloister
(page 229).

The cloister here shown is not one of the older ones, but was added early in the eighteenth century by Abbot Carron. It was left standing when the rest of the monastery was pulled down, because, being adjacent to the church, it could not be disturbed without endangering the whole edifice.

House of the Fathers of St Edmund, Pontigny (page 233).

This is the cellar and granary of the ancient monastery, with the Prior's rooms adjoining, which were left standing for the use of the parish priest. Considerable additions have, however, been made in order to adapt it to its present purpose. The community refectory is part of the ancient cellar; the granary above has been turned into a library and museum. The large passage there was converted into a dormitory at the time of the English pilgrimage in 1874. Adjacent to the refectory is an oratory for the present community. The full title of the Institute is "Fathers of St Edmund of Pontigny, Oblates of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Immaculate Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary."

Facsimile Page of Addit. MS., British Museum (page 241).

This is a copy of the same Life as that which was formerly at Pontigny, and is now at Auxerre; but it is at least half-a-century earlier, and was written not many years after St Edmund's death.

INDEX

N.B.—The names in the list on pp. 63-5 and pp. 77-80 are *not* included in the Index.

- ABINGDON, I *seq.*, 209, 249, 261 *seq.* ;
 Abbey, 4, 258, 263, 268 ; Cross, 262 ;
 Church of St Helen, 261 ; Church of
 St Nicholas, 249, 262 ; St Edmund's
 Lane, 264.
- Adrian IV., Pope, 278.
- Albano, Cardinal Bishop of, 197, 201,
 204.
- Albert, Archbishop of Armagh (after-
wards of Livonia), 132, 146, 183,
 197, 237.
- Alexander, monk of Christchurch,
 126, 130.
- Alexander III., Pope, 141 ; IV., 211.
- Anjou, Count of, 212 ; Duke of, 198.
- Anselm, St, 273.
- Aquitaine, Duke of, 212.
- Armagh, Archbishop of. (*See* Albert.)
- Artois, Robert of, 198.
- Audry, F. N., Sub-prior of Pontigny,
 223.
- Augustine, St, 275.
- Auxerre, 221, 223, 229, 232, 241, 277,
 279, 284 ; Bishop of, 197, 279.
- BACON, ROBERT, 185, 216, 237, 239,
 243 ; Roger, 238.
- Barnabas, St, 196.
- Barres, Baron Chaillon des, 229.
- Barré, F., 223.
- Basset, Fulk, 184 ; Gilbert, 87.
- Bedford, author of *Blazon of the Episco-
 pacy*, 258.
- Bedford, Castle of, 75.
- Begeham, Abbot of, 195.
- Belley, Bishop-elect of, 180.
- Belley, Cardinal, 219.
- Bernard, St, 153, 201.
- Bertha, St, 275.
- Bertrand, Chamberlain to St Edmund,
 152, 190, 203, 237, 241, 247.
- Bingham, Robert de, Bishop of Salis-
 bury, 72, 271.
- Binsey, 269.
- Blanche, Queen, mother of St Louis,
 150, 198, 282.
- Blunt, John, 67.
- Bockling, Ralph, 245.
- Bologna, 100.
- Boniface of Savoy (afterwards Arch-
 bishop of Canterbury), 142, 178,
 209.
- Bordeaux, Archbishop of, 197.
- Boucherat, Charles de, Abbot of Pon-
 tigny, 222.
- Bouras, Prior of, 223.
- Bourges, Bishop of, 197.
- Boyer, Père, Superior of Oblates of St
 Edmund, Pontigny, 233.
- Boxley, 247.
- Bruey, 212.
- Bruno, Abbot of La Ferté, 182.
- Buckland, 58.
- Buckler, 258.
- Burgh, Hubert de, Earl of Kent, 81,
 84, 85, 87, 91, 124, 272.

- Bury St Edmund's, 5.
 Butler, Alban, 239.
- CABIAS, Curé of Pontigny, 231.
 Calne, 50, 61 *n.*, 70, 209, 271.
 Calvinists, 220.
 Cambridge, St Edmund's House, 257.
 Cantelupe, Walter de, Bishop of Worcester, 114.
 Canterbury, 69, 72, 74 *seq.*, 179, 209, 272 *seq.*; Archbishop of, 117, 278 (*see also* St Anselm, St Thomas, Lanfranc, Stephen Langton, Richard Grant, and Boniface of Savoy); Christchurch Cathedral, 274 *seq.*; Christchurch Monastery, 66, 117 *seq.*, 186, 274 *seq.*; Christchurch Monastery, Prior of (*see* Ernulph, John of Sittingbourne, and Roger de la Lee); Church of St George, 133; Church of St Martin, 266, 275; Church of St Mary Magdalen, 131; Church of St Michael, Burgate, 131, 133; Mercery Lane, 273; St Edmund's School, 257.
 Capgrave, 238.
 Carlisle, Bishop of, 91, 137.
 Carron, Abbot of Pontigny, 224, 284.
 Catesby, 24, 165, 216, 247.
 Celestine, Pope, 180.
 Cella, John de, Abbot of St Albans, 235.
 Chalgrove, 31 *n.*
 Challoner, Bishop, 239.
 Champagne, Count of, 102, 226.
 Chanlatte, Abbot of Pontigny, 227.
 Chaume, Bishop of, 197.
 Cheltenham, 246.
 Chester, Bishop of, 81.
 Chichester, 270; Bishop of, 66, 132, 185, 209, 214, 215 (*see also* St Richard, and Ralph de Neville).
 Chippenham, 53 *n.*
 Christchurch Monastery. (*See* Canterbury.)
 Citeaux, Abbey of, 225, 277; Abbot of, 203.
 Clairvaux, Abbey of, 40, 153, 226, 277; Abbot of, 197 (*see also* St Bernard, and Stephen of Lexington).
 Clarendon, 65.
 Clement, St, 172.
 Clement VII., Pope, 268.
 Collot, F., 223.
 Compostella, 217.
 Coulours, 169.
- DENIS, GUY DE ST, 238.
 Depaquet, last Abbot of Pontigny, 227.
 Digun, R., 127.
 Dominic, St, 114.
 Douay, 239.
 Dover, 103, 204, 209, 212; William of, 127.
 Duncan, Rev. John, Rector of Calne, 271.
 Dunstable, Prior of, 179; Richard of, 244.
 Dunstan, monk of Christchurch, 131.
 Durand, Dom., 238, 241.
- EADWINE'S PSALTER, 272.
 Edmund, St, of Canterbury, *passim*; King and Martyr, 5, 157.
 Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, 264; citizen of Oxford, 257.
 Edward, St, 114, 261.
 Edward I., King, 136 *n.*
 Eleanor of Provence, 76, 102, 142, 178, 180; Countess, sister of Henry III., 76, 135, 148 *n.*
 Ella, Countess of Salisbury, 59.
 Erdington, Abbey of St Thomas and St Edmund, 240.
 Ernulph, Prior of Christchurch, 271.
 Esseby, Prior of, 185.
 Ethelbert, St, 273.
 Ethelred the Unready, 266.
 Eustace, monk of Christchurch, 242, 244.
 Evesham Abbey, 3.
 Eynsham Abbey, 3, 247.
- FABIAN and Sebastian, Sts, 104, 130.

- Falcasius, 65.
 Ferté, la, Abbey, 182, 223, 277; Abbot of, 203 (*see also* Bruno).
 Fishacre, Richard, 216.
 Francis, St, 114.
 Frederick II., Emperor, 139.
 Frideswide, St, 266.
 Frindsbury Church, 211.
- GASQUET, Abbot, 263 *n*.
 Geneviève, St, 271.
 Germain, St, 265.
 Gervase, monk of Christchurch, 236.
 Gloucester, 82.
 Godfrey of Boulogne, 265.
 Grant, Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, 66.
 Green, Everard, Rouge Dragon, 257.
 Gregory, St, 125; IX., Pope, 125, 142, 180, 182.
 Grey, Walter de, Archbishop of York, 47.
 Grillot, Abbot of Pontigny, 226.
 Grosseteste, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, 50, 184 *n*., 186.
 Guthlac, St, 249.
- HADLOW, 130 *n*.
 Hales, Alexander de, O.S.F., 186.
 Harpsfild, Nicholas, 239.
 Henry, I., King, 263; II., King, 148 *n*., 224; III., King, 81, 102, 105, 186, 194, 209, 211, 212, 237, 249, 259; VII., King, 273; VIII., King, 219, 268, 276.
 Henry, Mgr., 232, 254.
 Herbert, Friar, O.S.F., 246.
 Herlepe, Simon of, monk of Christchurch, 126.
 Herman, Bishop of Salisbury, 269; monk of Pontigny, 173.
 Hertford, St Thomas of, 214.
 Hilary, St, 106.
 Hook, Dean, 239.
 Horstman, Dr, 238.
 Hugh, St, Bishop of Lincoln, 3.
 Huguenots, 220.
- IFFLEY CHURCH, 267.
 Innocent, III., Pope, 56; IV., Pope, 180, 183.
 Irenæus, St, 226.
 Isabella, sister of King Louis, 198.
- JEAYES, J. H., 246.
 Jerusalem, 186.
 John, St (Evangelist), 18, 20, 88; St (Baptist), Cathedral of (*see* Lyons).
 John, Cardinal, 189, 190, 210; King, 75; Abbot of Abingdon, 250; of Tynemouth, 238; Brother, 190; son of Geoffrey, 113.
 Jones, Inigo, 262, 271.
- KENT, EARL OF, 84 *n*., 85 (*see also* Hubert de Burgh).
- LANERCOST CHRONICLER, 233, 272.
 Langres, Bishop of, 277.
 Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, 271.
 Langton, Cardinal Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, 47, 66 *n*., 106, 148, 276, 278; Simon, Archdeacon of Canterbury, 66, 114, 123, 179.
 Laroche, 277.
 Lateran, Fourth Council of, 56 *n*., 63 *n*., 114.
 Laval, 233.
 Lawrence, St, in Lucina, 189; St, 214.
 Laycock Abbey, 59.
 Lee, Roger de la, monk of Christchurch, 129 *seq*.
 Legny, 152.
 Le Grave, Rev. William, 240 *n*.
 Leicester, 88; Earl of, 124, 135; Simon of, monk of Christchurch, 131.
 Leominster, 57.
 Lewes, Prior and Sub-prior of, 147.
 Lexington, Stephen of, Abbot of Stanley (afterwards of Clairvaux), 40, 53, 189.
 Lincoln, Bishop of, 184 (*see also* St Hugh, and Robert Grosseteste); Earl of, 113, 114.

Livonia, Archbishop of. (*See* Albert, Archbishop of Armagh.)
 Llewellyn, 81 *seq.*
 London, 104, 147, 217; Bishop of, 184 (*see also* Roger le Noir); Council of, 111 *seq.*; Cathedral of St Paul, 110.
 Longsword, William, Earl of Salisbury, 59, 270.
 Longuepont, 190.
 Louis IX., St, 150 *n.*, 186 *n.*, 197, 225; XI., St, 217.
 Luidhard, St, 275.
 Lyons, 180, 209, 277; Council of, 185; Cathedral of St John Baptist, 192.

MABEL. (*See* Rich.)

Macon, Hugh de, first Abbot of Pontigny, 227, 283.
 Magdalen College, Oxford, 267.
 Maidstone, 123.
 Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, 201.
 Margaret, Well of St, Binsey, 259.
 Marshal, Gilbert, Earl, 74, 81, 85, 89, 114, 272; William, Earl, 135 *n.*
 Martène, Dom., 224, 238, 241.
 Martin, St, 111, 167, 187.
 Mary des Près, Monastery of St, 88.
 Massé, Père, 222 *n.*, 239, 242, 254.
 Maud, Empress, 53 *n.*
 Merton Abbey, 36, 105.
 Michael, St, 53, 62, 65, 91.
 Michel, F., 223.
 Mont St Michel, 233.
 Monte Cassino, 273.
 Montfort, Simon de, 114, 135.
 Moreau, F., 224.
 Morimond Abbey, 277.
 Morris, Rev. John, S.J., 274, 276.
 Muard, Père, Superior of Oblates of St Edmund, Pontigny, 232.

NAPLES, 211.

Neville, Ralph de, Bishop of Chichester, 66.
 Nicholas, Dom., monk of St Albans, 281.
 Noir, Roger le, Bishop of London, 121, 124, 272.

Nolan, Rev. Edmond, 243, 246 *n.*
 Normandy, Duke of, 212.
 Northumberland, Archdeacon of, 214 *n.*
 Norwich, Bishop of. (*See* Walter de Raleigh.)

Ock, River, 259.
 Odo, Cardinal, 197.
 Old Hall, St Edmund's College, 257.
 Orleans, 178; Bishop of, 197.
 Oseney Abbey, 266; chronicler, 236.
 Osmund, St, 269; Register of, 49.
 Otho, Cardinal, 65, 108, 119, 135, 136, 139, 145, 176, 211, 274.
 Oxford, 10, 29 *seq.*, 37, 46, 55, 100 *n.*, 157, 238, 266 *seq.*; Church of St Mary, 10, 266, 268; Church of St Martin, 266; Church of St Michael, 266, 269; Church of All Saints, 267; Church of St Clement, 267; Church of St Frideswide (Christchurch Cathedral), 266, 268; Corpus Christi College, 243; St Edmund's Hall, 257.

PARAVICINI, BARONESS DE, 235 *seq.*, 266.

Paris, 16 *seq.*, 100 *n.*, 265 *seq.*, 277; Cathedral of Notre Dame, 265; Church of St Merri, 34, 213, 265; Church of St Etienne du Mont, 265; Church of St Severin, 265; Bishop of, 219; Dean of, 183.

Paris, Matthew, Chronicler of St Albans, 235 *seq.*, 195, 225, 262, 272, 274.

Parkinson, Rev. Thomas, 257.

Passelew, Robert, 88, 91.

Patteshull, Simon de, 92; Hugh de, 92.

Pattison, Mark, 239.

Paul, St, 113, 194.

Pembroke, Earl of, 81, 84 *n.*

Perisson, F., 223.

Peter, St, 64, 113, 194.

Peter, monk of Pontigny, 171.

Petit, F., 223.

- Phillips, Sir T., 246, 266.
 Pierre-qui-vire, Monastery of, 233.
 Poitevins, 81.
 Poitou, Alphonsus of, 198.
 Pontigny, Abbey of, 41, 148, 151 *seq.*, 238, 277 *seq.*; Abbot of, 168, 197 (*see also* Hugh de Macon, Boucherat, Grillot, Chaulatte, Carron, Depaquy).
 Poor, Richard, Bishop of Salisbury, 49, 62, 72, 270.
 Praeneste, Cardinal of, 125.
 Prime and Felician, Sts, 198.
 Provence, 102; Duke of, 198.
 Provins, Abbey of St James, 157 *n.*, 168, 256; Prior of, 164; Church of St Quiriace, 256, 280.
 QUARR, Abbey of, 39 *n.*, 53.
 RALEIGH, WILLIAM DE, Bishop of Norwich (afterwards of Winchester), 147, 161; William de; Canon of St Paul's, 113.
 Reading, Abbey of, 46, 139.
 Rhode, la, Priory of, 220.
 Rich, Mabel, 1 *seq.*, 16, 22 *seq.*, 32, 249, 263; Reinald or Edward, 1, 3, 246; St Edmund, *passim*; Robert, 2, 4, 16, 22, 23, 99, 152 *n.*, 164, 237, 239, 242, 247 *seq.*; Alice, 25, 165, 216, 247; Margaret, 25, 165, 216, 247.
 Richard, St, Bishop of Chichester, 100, 152 *n.*, 167, 176, 185, 195, 197, 202, 204, 212, 215, 245.
 Richard, Earl of Cornwall, 87, 203, 209, 211; Count of Provence, 102; II., King, 273.
 Rievaulx, Peter de, 74, 76, 81, 87, 88.
 Robert, monk of Pontigny, 231; monk of Christchurch, 130; the Cistercian, 244.
 Rochelle, 75.
 Roches, Peter des, Bishop of Winchester, 65, 68, 74, 80, 81, 84 *n.*, 89, 91, 110.
 Rochester, 124, 130, 209, 261; Bishop of, 65, 81, 132, 135 (*see also* Richard Young).
 Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, 266.
 Rome, 121 *seq.*, 217.
 Rouen, Bishop of, 197.
 SABINA, ST, 192.
 St Albans, 104, 235, 238, 281; Abbot of, 179 (*see also* John de Cella); Archdeacon of, 79.
 St Florentin, 227, 229, 277, 279; Viscountess of, 220, 224; Directory of, 230.
 Salisbury, 49 *seq.*, 157, 209, 236, 269 *seq.*; Cathedral, 269; Church of St Edmund, 258; Bishop of (*see* St Osmund, Herman, Roger, Richard Poor, Robert Bingham, and Walter de la Wyle); Dean of, 62; Earl of (*see* William Longsword); Countess of (*see* Ella).
 Sandwich, Bartholomew of, monk of Christchurch, 126, 127.
 Sarum, Old, 49, 270.
 Segrave, Stephen de, 88.
 Senlis, 150; Bishop of, 183.
 Sens, 148, 232; Archbishop of, 174, 197, 233, 277; William of, 274.
 Serrain, River, 279.
 Sewal, Archbishop of York, 215.
 Seward, Richard, 87.
 Sicily, 186.
 Sittingbourne, John of, Prior of Christchurch, 67, 126.
 Soissy, Priory of, 157 *seq.*, 280.
 Stanley, Abbey of, 40 *n.*, 53; Abbot of (*see* Stephen of Lexington).
 Stephen Harding, St, 64, 232, 277.
 Stradeyvy, 58.
 Surius, 239, 248.
 TERRINGES, SIMON DE, 213.
 Thames, River, 261.
 Thanet, Isle of, 149.
 Thibault, Count of Champagne, 277.
 Thomas, St, of Canterbury, 61, 118, 141, 143, 148, 151, 155, 165, 167, 202, 258, 271, 274, 276; Chapels of, Pontigny, 222.

- Tre Fontane, Abbot of, 204.
 Troyes, Bishop of, 197, 231.
 Tusculum (Frascati), Cardinal Bishop
 of, 197.
 Tynmouth, John of, 238.
- VALENCE, Bishop of, 102.
 Vallence, Prior of, 223.
 Victor, St, 265.
 Vienne, Dauphin of, 219.
 Villeneuve l'Archevêque de Sens, 168.
 Vincent, St, 131.
 Voltaire, 227.
- WALLACE, Dom., O.S.B., 130 *n.*, 132,
 148, 157, 235, 240 *seq.*, 257, 264.
 Wendover, Roger, chronicler of St
 Albans, 235.
 Westminster, 74, 89; Abbey, 104, 107,
 127, 209; Chapel of St Catherine,
 108; Abbot of, 104, 211.
 White, George, 239.
 William de Bussi, 178.
 William of Perth, St, 261.
- William the Conqueror, King, 263,
 269; chaplain to St Richard, 212.
 Williment, 258.
 Wilts, Archdeacon of, 50.
 Winchester, 91, 102, 105, 147; Bishop
 of, 65 (*see also* Peter des Roches,
 William de Raleigh, and Boniface of
 Savoy).
 Wissant, 103.
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 268.
 Wood, historian of Oxford, 243, 248,
 257.
 Wood, Sir Albert, Garter King of Arms,
 258.
 Woodstock, 82, 86.
 Worcester, 55, 87; Bishop of, 278
 (*see also* Walter de Cantelupe);
 William of, 250.
 Wyle, Walter de la, Bishop of Salisbury,
 209, 258, 271.
- YORK, 47; Archbishop of, 112, 115, 215
 (*see also* Walter de Grey, and Sewal).
 Young, Richard, Bishop of Rochester,
 261.

PRINTED BY
OLIVER AND BOYD
EDINBURGH

Boydston Bank / Sher
4/5/79
£4.60

BOX
2051.
.E24
W3
IMS

Ward, Bernard Nicolas,
1857-1920
S[ain]t Edmund,
Archbishop of
Canterbury :

PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE
OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
59 QUEEN'S PARK
TORONTO 5, CANADA

